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Karadzic: Russian Troops Bring Peace to Sarajevo

LD2002171394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1420 GMT 20 Feb 94

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Feb (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Srpska republic, told SIM Radio in Bijeljina today that "with the arrival in Sarajevo of 450, and later perhaps more, Russian blue helmets—the war in the area will be over."

"The Serb side is very pleased with the arrival of the Russian soldiers, for if it had not been for the Russian initiative we would now have certainly found ourselves in a dramatic situation," Karadzic added in a statement reported by SRNA.

Speaking about possible tricks by the Muslim side, similar to the one in the Sarajevo market, Karadzic said that he had reliable information that the Muslims "perhaps even today" are preparing a new trick.

"We have informed Yasushi Akashi, the UN secretary general's special envoy, about this," Karadzic said, and warned that "after Sarajevo, Tuzla and Bihac will certainly become the arenas for stage-managed massacres."

"The Muslim people have found themselves in the most difficult possible position due to the policy of its leadership, a policy which counts on giving cause for sympathy and compassion in the world," Karadzic stressed, noting that no people ever gained their own state in such a way.

Czech Minister Proposes Bosnian Peace Plan

LD1902174394 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 19 Feb 94

[Text] Czech Minister of Defense Antonin Baudys made a proposal at an extraordinary news conference at the Ministry of Defense on the resolution of the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Martin Dorazin has phoned in:

[Dorazin] The main aim is stop the war immediately. If you do not give a solution to the warring sides they will not stop fighting, Minister Baudys said. One cannot, however, seek a solution that would disadvantage one of the sides. According to Antonin Baudys, one has to give guarantees to the sides involved in the fighting.

The basic idea of the Czech proposal, therefore, takes its starting point as the ethnic and religious background of the Bosnian conflict. We can stop this war if the states whose religious and cultural identity is connected with the ideals of the warring sides become the guarantors of developments and the overall solution.

Minister Baudys proposes to create an executive goodwill committee in the United Nations in which Russia, Greece, Turkey, Pakistan, France, and Italy would be represented. These countries would thus take over direct protection of the countries of the former Yugoslavia.

Baudys's plan is based on the fact that the solution must be sought with a long-term perspective and that an immediate solution is not known by anyone. A short-term aim of Baudys's plan is disarmament, administrative arrangements, and the punishment of war criminals regardless of their national origin.

Political and diplomatic activities would follow in the coming two to five years, as would economic reconstruction. Conditions should arise for putting an end to direct protection. This would be followed for a period of up to 10 years by a long-term solution and an overall settlement of the Bosnian conflict.

Foreign Ministry Declaration on Serb Withdrawal

AU2102144094 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 21 Feb 94

[Text] A declaration of the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs describes the process of withdrawing heavy armaments from Sarajevo as a sign of hope in connection with halting the military operations and in connection with solving the problems at the negotiating table.

The document expresses high appreciation for the efforts of the United Nations, NATO, the United States, and Russia, which although somewhat belated have demonstrated that acceptable solutions to alleviate the conflict can be achieved on the basis of coordinated efforts.

As a country closely situated near the area of the conflict and bearing a heavy share of the burden imposed by the international sanctions, the Republic of Bulgaria has a vital interest in promptly finding a just and lasting solution of the conflict, the declaration further reads.

The declaration points out that in confirming its resolve of not interfering in the armed conflict, the Republic of Bulgaria once again expresses its readiness to support all international efforts aimed at a peaceful and just solution of the conflict on the territory of former Yugoslavia.

Berov Makes Statement on Bosnian Conflict

AU1802183094 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 18 Feb 94

[Text] [Announcer] With the emergence of the first manifestations of an armed conflict on the territories of former Yugoslavia, Bulgaria declared that it would never, under any circumstances, try to take advantage of the disintegrating federation's difficulties, and our country has kept its word to this day. That is what Prime Minister Lyuben Berov pointed out in a statement about the Bulgarian Government's stand on the NATO ultimatum related to attacks from the air against positions of the Bosnian Serbs near Sarajevo. Let us hear part of the statement:

[Begin Berov recording] Bulgaria regards the request to lift the arms embargo imposed by Resolution No. 715 of the UN Security Council of 1991 as an element of the military balance in the Balkans which has not been disrupted so far, as a matter of fact. The lifting of the embargo is not only likely to disrupt the balance, but would also cause an escalation and expansion of the conflict. The warning about air attacks according to the NATO Council ultimatum adopted on 9 February 1994 deserves particular attention. It confronts Bosnia-Herzegovina and presumably other Balkan countries with the menace of an escalation of the conflict accompanied by great material damages and the loss of human lives. Any external military interference whatsoever cannot be a solution for the Bosnian conflict as such, as long as the three sides involved in the conflict do not manifest sufficient good will for a peaceful solution. The interest of Bulgaria and of all Balkan states demands that they should contribute to such a solution.

Zhelev Views NATO Ultimatum, Greek Embargo

AU1902202194 Sofia Bulgarska Televiziya Network in Bulgarian 1800 GMT 19 Feb 94

[Interview with President Zhelyu Zhelev by an unidentified representative of the Panorama political review program in Sofia; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Panorama] Is it a coincidence that you signed the Partnership for Peace initiative precisely at this juncture, at the same time that NATO imposed its ultimatum? Is there any connection with the ultimatum that NATO has given to the Bosnian Serbs?

[Zhelev] There is no connection of such a kind, although certain mass media, especially some newspapers, politicians, and representatives of various institutions, have permitted themselves to find such a connection. No such connection exists. The simple truth is that the decision to sign the initiative was made much earlier, prior to the ultimatum. The coincidence in time is purely accidental.

[Panorama] Since only 24 hours now remain before the ultimatum expires, I would nonetheless like to clear up one point. Has there been any change in Bulgaria's position regarding the air strikes, and do any differences exist between the main institutions of state on this issue?

[Zhelev] I will permit myself here to reiterate extremely concisely the main points of our position, because it is very often distorted and misrepresented in an incorrect light. Bulgaria was one of the first countries in the Balkans to formulate its position clearly and precisely regarding the disintegrating Federation of Yugoslavia. As you will remember, we were the first to recognize the four former Yugoslav republics; we were the first to declare that Bulgaria will under no circumstances exploit the difficulties that the former Yugoslavia was facing; and we were the first to declare that Bulgaria will under no circumstances participate militarily or allow military intervention on its part in the events in Yugoslavia, that we will send neither troops nor weapons, nor embark on any form of military path. I consider that we have preserved this position until the present day.

At the same time, we asked the other Balkan states and neighbors of the former Yugoslavia to adopt the same position of renouncing military intervention in the conflicts in Yugoslavia, because such an act, even if undertaken for the most noble motives, may prove to be a direct way to drag the country in question into a new Balkan war, a war in which all the other neighbor countries of former Yugoslavia will find themselves involved.

Of course, we have to adjust, to correct our position to take account of the new situation that has arisen, but there will be no fundamental changes in our position,

which remains one of active neutrality. We regard the NATO ultimatum as one of the last peaceful means, a peace effort by the European structures to settle, [pause] to contribute to solving the conflict in Bosnia and in Sarajevo, in particular.

One has to draw a distinction between the ultimatum itself and the actual use of weapons. These are two quite different things. The ultimatum is purely and simply a warning, designed to compel the warring parties to sit down at the table and hold serious negotiations, first and foremost on halting the conflict and then on gradually settling the points at dispute, about which they are fighting.

[Panorama] Have you heard whether the ultimatum is producing any results regarding the disputes?

[Zhelev] Yes, you are right. So far, the ultimatum has produced very good results. According to the information that I have been receiving at least, the Serbs are withdrawing their heavy artillery at a fast rate, while the Muslims are fulfilling other actions that are required under the ultimatum.

[Panorama] Do you consider that the Greek Government decision to impose a unilateral de facto embargo against Macedonia [Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] complicates the situation in the Balkans?

[Zhelev] Naturally, Greece is a sovereign state and is entitled to decide its own moves, its own steps in the Balkans, but I consider that to make this move precisely at this moment does not contribute to reducing the tension in the Balkans.

[Panorama] Mr. President, in conclusion, in view of the development of events around Bosnia, does any real military threat exist for Bulgaria?

[Zhelev] No, I can state quite categorically that no such threat exists for Bulgaria.

Appoints National Security Chief

AU1802132094 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 18 Feb 94

[Text] Today President Zhelyu Zhelev issued Decree No. 35, appointing Colonel Stefan Georgiev Dimitrov director of the National Security Service.

Daskalov Criticizes Albania's Action on Bosnia

AU1902205394 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 13 Feb 94 p 3

[Report by Yovo Nikolov]

[Text] Foreign Minister Stanislav Daskalov has denounced Albania's decision to place its airports at the disposal of NATO aircraft for an air raid against Bosnia. This is something that we do not like, Mr. Stanislav Daskalov declared after his return from a meeting of foreign ministers from neighboring countries of the former Yugoslavia. We are against the interference of any Balkan country whatsoever in the conflict because it might lead to an escalation of tension in the Balkans, he stated.

The minister of foreign affairs returned visibly depressed from the Geneva meeting. No decisions whatsoever were adopted at the meeting; however, that was not the purpose. An official report on how the Yugoembargo is affecting the neighboring countries was released. The participating countries should provide their own remarks on the document.

Stanislav Daskalov was not aware of President Zhelev's stand on being inclined to agree with air attacks over Bosnia. I cannot comment on something that I have not heard, the minister declared.

Bulgaria has always declared to be in favor of a peaceful settlement of the conflict. If air raids should be applied as an extreme measure, then several conditions should be fulfilled in this connection. The first condition, in our view, is that there should be no victims among the civilian population and that the air strikes should not lead to an expansion of the conflict likely to affect neighboring countries. The question was discussed in Geneva, but none of the sides dared to commit itself with providing guarantees.

In Suleyman Demirel's letter to President Zhelev, there was no mention of an air corridor through Bulgaria, Mr. Daskalov said in confirming the statement of the Turkish ambassador in Bulgaria. As far as the foreign minister remembers, the letter called for support in case of military intervention or in connection with lifting the arms embargo.

Stanislav Daskalov reported that he had agreed with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees Office on the participation of Bulgarian business companies in humanitarian deliveries for former Yugoslavia and the Caucasus.

Havel on Bosnia, Partnership for Peace

LD2002180794 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1315 GMT 20 Feb 94

[Interview with Czech President Vaclav Havel by Eva Hulkova at Havel's country house in Hradecek; date not given: "Conversations at Lany"—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Hulkova] One of the topics affecting the whole world and each of us is the situation in Sarajevo, which is now coming to a head. Although we have no idea today what will happen at midnight this Sunday [20 February], could we discuss some aspects of what might ensue from this situation? For example, how was this situation reflected in our political scene? That's not an uninteresting subject.

[Havel] It was not a simple decision. Many wise men, both politicians and military leaders, eventually arrived at this decision. It is quite natural that there are some in our country who present it as a problem and who highlight some related dangers or risks.

I think that we should not forget the main thing, which is that this might be a real turning point in this situation. [passage omitted]

I firmly believe that there will be no need to start bombing artillery positions around Sarajevo. I firmly believe that this threat will result in the genuine pullout of Serb units. I firmly believe that this might amount to the beginning of a process in which they stop mocking the whole world, when not only the Serbs but also the other sides realize that the world is genuinely interested in this matter, and when the process of searching for a solution to this situation can perhaps begin.

I believe that Bosnia-Herzegovina should be preserved as a state under the international auspices of the United Nations. After all, Bosnia-Herzegovina has been internationally recognized. We should concentrate on looking for some form of regionalization and federalization of the state. We should slowly but, at the same time, with all our might, look for ways of renewing the coexistence between these ethnic groups and communities in a single society.

[Hulkova] Mr. President, spokesmen of the Czechs living in Kazakhstan turned to you with the issue of resettling some 160 families to our Republic because of difficult conditions of life in Kazakhstan. Regardless of how this matter is resolved, I would like to ask whether there are differences in our approach to wealthy and not very wealthy foreigners who are somehow linked to our country.

[Havel] I would not suspect the Czech Republic of this. The case of the Kazakhs is very complicated, and I have been following it with considerable attention. Indeed, these people find themselves in a dangerous situation. In my view, our Republic should accommodate their request. But they are wrong to think that it is the president who decides about these matters. The president is not the chief executive in our country. I responded to their appeals by writing a letter to the prime minister asking that the government take a position on this matter and decide whether resettling them could be considered. It appears that at issue is a resettlement of individual people. Nevertheless, the decision is up to the government. It is a matter that should not be treated with indifference.

Although our state cannot be built along purely ethnic lines and although we cannot elevate the feelings of Czech national identity above everything else, I still think that, regardless of these people being rich or poor, we should have and we should demonstrate stronger feelings for those who originate from this country, who speak this language, and who feel some bond with this country.

[Hulkova] But, according to the man on the street, we are not very generous to those who are of little use, as it were...

[Havel, interrupting] We should discriminate against no one, I think. By saying this I think that we should not discriminate against the poor, who arrive here with nothing, with neither a roof over their head nor money. But I think we should not discriminate against the rich either. [passage omitted]

[Hulkova] And now about the parliamentary session dealing with the bill on foreign trade in military material. Is it really true that it will substantially change the image of our country?

[Havel] I think it is a very good law, a very strict law. By itself, a law is not sufficient to improve the image of our country. What is important is the practice and the application of the law. However, the law is an important precondition. It seems to me that this whole area will become more transparent now. It will become clear what the state did allow and what it did not allow, why it allowed it and why it did not allow it. Of course, there is no law that cannot be bypassed by inventive people. It will be important that the law is really functional and not bypassed. That will be fundamental in securing a good image of our state.

[Hulkova] [passage omitted] Let us return now to the parliament. Mr. President, what adjective would you use to describe what happened there last Friday [18 February]?

[Havel] I would rather not use any adjective. However, I will simply say that I am very, very disappointed, even almost outraged. The return of property to the Jewish communities is being dragged out for too long. It is undignified, and it is beginning to be offensive. I am very alarmed by it because an impression is being created that we do not want to see justice done, and it even harms our reputation abroad. It is generally known why this law failed to be passed. An amendment was adopted, and it

must be said that it was in accordance with the government's standpoint, that local authorities would not be so-called legal persons, which would mean that local authorities would decide whether these properties should be returned to the Jewish communities or not. In case they do not return it, the Jewish communities should be financially compensated by the state. The reason behind this amendment was an argument that such a thing would be a de facto expropriation serving as a precedent for appeal by other legal persons in other restitution claims. I think this argument does not hold water and is weak. I understand the reasons that led to part of the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] and the opposition being reluctant to make the issue of local property ownership more problematic. I understand it from the legal and economic point of view and because of possible precedents. However, these are insufficient reasons for postponing this matter again, for not being resolved once again. I absolutely understand those deputies who then left the chamber to make it impossible for the law in this form to be passed. Next week, I plan to invite several deputies involved in this, talk to them more thoroughly, to understand their attitudes and arguments and find out if there is a chance to finally solve this matter and, if so, what kind of chance.

[Hulkova] Do you think that the way we are dealing with this matter is being observed from abroad?

[Havel] They are observing it with great attention, and I am not sure if these legal or concrete arguments that are being used will be understood as sufficient and legitimate arguments by the international community. I rather doubt it. It is likely to be understood as unwillingness of the state to release this property, although I am convinced that our state is willing to release this property to the Jewish communities.

[Hulkova] Let's talk about the visit of Andrey Kozyrev to Hradecek. Can you tell us what was the main idea around which your talks revolved?

[Havel] It was the future security setup in Europe. I explained our position. I even drew a chart for him that he regarded as a starting point for the debate. He himself used it to demonstrate what his own view was. I explained to him the reasons for our striving for future membership of NATO, my idea of relations between NATO and Russia, and the reasons the position of small Central European countries differed altogether from that of Russia. I also explained to him the specific features of Russia's position as a major nuclear power in Europe and Asia, a power that has to have a firm partnership with NATO. I explained to him that the (?eulogistical) nature of these relations will always be totally different from those between NATO and small Central European or European countries. I explained to him that even a possible enlargement of NATO was plausible only if solid relations with Russia existed. These relations could also be based on the Partnership for Peace program because this program provides for various types of relations.

On the other hand, he explained Russia's way of thinking to me—the reasons that Russia fears the further enlargement of NATO, which would eventually encompass various European countries without incorporating Russia itself. Russian society perceives this as some kind of discrimination and alienation.

What is important, I think, is that I had a chance to look deeper into the political ideas and the thinking behind Russian diplomacy. I also regard as important the fact that the minister told me that, following my explanation, his understanding of our position is far better. He understood why it was unsuitable to use the expression "sphere of interests" and why we showed such displeasure at Russia using this expression.

It was a very friendly and informal discussion and i was also a result of being in a home environment, but it was, in my view, a very useful discussion. [passage omitted]

Kalvoda Supports Use of Force in Bosnia

LD2002154694 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1300 GMT 20 Feb 94

[Text] Czech Deputy Prime Minister Jan Kalvoda ended his visit in Great Britain on 19 February. In his talks with State Secretary at the Foreign Office Douglas Hogg, the situation in Bosnia was discussed. On his arrival in Prague, Jan Kalvoda told the Czech radio the following.

[Begin Kalvoda recording] Two days ago, I was assured that the determination of Great Britain, which is an important member, is unshakable. I think that in this situation—once a decision is made and declared, it has to be carried out. I am not really exhorting anybody to any kind of shortcut or violent solution of a situation which can be resolved by negotiations, but nowadays, all political negotiations have their content, a degree of effectiveness, and it would be very harmful to accept a principle of never using force as a means of sanction against the use of force in mutual relationships. I only confirmed that our attitude has been stated by authorized representatives of the Czech state at an international level, expressing in principle our support for the NATO decision to use bombing if the ultimatum fails, with the proviso that no rational person, nor the alliance, would consider the bombardment of Sarajevo to be a panacea for ending the tension and war in the former Yugoslavia. Certainly not. [end recording]

Russian, Czech Foreign Ministers Hold Talks

LD1902140194 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1300 GMT 19 Feb 94

[Text] The foreign ministers of the Russian Federation and the Czech Republic met in Prague today for private talks in Cernin Palace, seat of the Czech Foreign Ministry. Their meeting was followed by a meeting between the delegations of the two states. Afterwards, Andrey

Kozyrev and Josef Zieleniec gave a joint news conference. Correspondent David Stahlavsky, who was there, reports:

[Stahlavsky] Journalists' questions concerned two main areas—the Russian effort aimed at settling the Bosnian conflict and the position of the Czech Republic in the policy of Russia, as a superpower.

Kozyrev confirmed that no direct clash of interests exists between our states and that, when some differences do occur, they are generated by the complexity of the problems that have to be solved jointly. The Russian minister mentioned the need to quickly draft documents for the visit of Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus to Russia, agreed by presidents Havel and Yeltsin last summer.

Minister Zieleniec said he sees no big differences of views existing with regard to our country's efforts aimed at being incorporated into West European integrational structures.

Kozyrev declined to comment directly on Russia's continuing to regard the Czech Republic as a sphere of its vital interests. The only interest he admitted was that Russian artists should be influential in our country and that Czech artists should be influential in Russia because both countries are interested in each other.

Responding to a Czech Radio question, Kozyrev said that the purpose of the talks is not that the Czech Republic should back the Russian attitude to Bosnia-Herzegovina in particular, although the views held by Moscow and Prague are very close. The purpose of the talks is to jointly find an answer to this very complex situation. Russia has influence there because it is familiar with this region. It is evident that Czech foreign policy also has influence in this region. They should pool their efforts aimed at solving the conflict.

Kozyrev said he did not want to even think, let alone comment, on the new political situation that would evolve after a bombing of Serbian positions in Bosnia. As is known, Russia regards the ultimatum on the withdrawal of Serbian artillery from the vicinity of Sarajevo as illegal and strongly disagrees with it.

Kozyrev Previews Talks

LD1902092794 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 0600 GMT 19 Feb 94

[Text] [Announcer] Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrey Kozyrev arrived in Prague yesterday on a working visit. Correspondent David Stahlavsky talked with Kozyrev about his planned talks with Czech officials.

[Stahlavsky] The Russian foreign minister is convinced that the talks will concern the Bosnian issue, among other things, because the stability of the Central and East European region is in the interests of all. Andrey Kozyrev said that relations between the Czech Republic and Russia are based on history and enjoy good prospects. An assessment should be made of the ways in which European partnership could be developed. This assessment should be free of prejudice and mutual suspicions.

Kozyrev told Czech Radio that he is against reviving the old doctrines on the inequality of relations. The main thing is to build a new, big, and united Europe. The Russian minister of foreign affairs emphasized that no one has a ready-made prescription for doing this. He went on to add:

[Begin Kozyrev recording in Russian, fading to superimposed Czech translation] Partnership for Peace is one of the variants for joining NATO. We do not prevent anyone from doing so because this is a matter on which all of the states, including the Czech Republic, will have to decide themselves. [end recording]

[Stahlavsky] But Andrey Kozyrev emphasized that there is no need to focus only on NATO and recalled the existence of the Visegrad Four, the CSCE, and others. There is no need to work against these forms of cooperation. All of the options should be used in the interest of political, economic, and cultural benefit, Kozyrev said.

Talks To Focus on Bosnia

LD1902114794 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 19 Feb 94

[Text] Before the opening of the official [Czech-Russian] talks, Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec had tete-a-tete talks with his Russian counterpart, Andrey Kozyrev, in Cernin Palace [seat of the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs] in Prague today. The two delegations' talks are focused on the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Speaking about this issue, First Deputy Foreign Minister Alexander Vondra said that the Czech side was also ready to discuss relations between the Czech Republic and Russia and clarify issues concerning security in Central Europe.

Czech President Vaclav Havel is to receive the Russian guest in Hradecek near Trutnov [Havel's country house in northeast Bohemia] this afternoon. Kozyrev is due to meet Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus tomorrow [20 February].

Zieleniec on 'Sphere of Influence'

LD1902173994 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 19 Feb 94

[Text] Following a meeting between the two foreign ministers [Josef Zieleniec and Andrey Kozyrev], the Russian guest was received by Czech President Vaclav Havel. Our correspondent Eva Hulkova reports about their meeting at Hradecek [Havel's private cottage] that ended a short time ago.

[Hulkova] The aim of my visit was to learn about the feelings of our neighbors, Andrey Kozyrev said during

his visit today to Hradecek, where he arrived by helicopter. According to Vaclav Havel, their very intensive talks had one subject: the future security setup in Europe and, in this context, the role of NATO and the CSCE.

Havel and Kozyrev briefed each other about the political visions of their countries and about the social reality in their countries that influences these political visions.

Havel explained to the Russian foreign minister the causes of alarm whenever there are views voiced in Russia containing the hidden intention of including the Czech Republic in the Russian sphere of influence. Kozyrev showed understanding for this explanation and told journalists that, if the words "sphere of interest" evoked the past, he was fully prepared not to use that expression.

Kozyrev appreciated the opportunity to meet Havel, besides other things, because the Czech President is actively building democracy and a new system in Europe.

Regarding the [NATO] ultimatum [to the Bosnian Serbs], Havel understands it, but, at the same time, he understands why Russia was dissatisfied with the fact that it was consulted about this.

The two officials agreed that talks like the ones they held make sense and should continue.

Kozyrev on Joining International Groups

LD1902171494 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 19 Feb 94

[Text] One of the main topics of the news conference in Prague today by the Russian and Czech foreign ministers, Andrey Kozyrev and Josef Zieleniec, was the position of the Czech Republic in Russia's policies as a great power. David Stahlavsky has the details:

[Stahlavsky] Andrey Kozyrev has confirmed that there is no direct clash of interests between our states. He attributed some differences to the complexity of the problems we must solve jointly. The Russian minister mentioned the need to prepare quickly the documents on the visit of Prime Minister Klaus to Russia, which was agreed last summer by Presidents Havel and Yeltsin.

Although Minister Zieleniec thinks there are no great differences of view on the attempts of our country to become a member of West European structures, his Russian partner refused to comment directly on whether Russia continues to consider the Czech Republic to be in its sphere of vital interests. Good relations are the vital interest.

Kozyrev repeatedly conceded to all countries, including the Czech Republic, the right to join any international organization, even NATO. He documented it jokingly by the possibility of our entry to the Commonwealth of Independent States. Russia would not be against it.

Russia, however, maintains the right to express its views on the optimal construction of European security, which was confirmed by President Yeltsin in his letter to Western countries shortly after his visit to Warsaw and Prague, in which he rejected the admission of Central and East European countries to NATO before Russia. According to Kozyrev, however, this argument is no longer topical by virtue of accepting the Partership for Peace program. NATO is an organization with which one has to cooperate, and Russia will join this program. No organization on its own, however, can respond to Europe's problems, Kozyrev said.

Kozyrev on Lasting East-West Division

LD2002210394 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 20 Feb 94

[Text] At the end of the Russian Foreign Minister talks in Prague, our correspondent David Stahlavsky obtained Andrey Kozyrev's exclusive answer to the following question:

[Stahlavsky] I asked the Russian foreign minister about the assumption voiced by some Western newspapers that the division of the world into two blocs or, in other words, the former Soviet and the Western bloc, is not over yet because Russia has failed to support the decision of the NATO Council to use force in the Bosnian conflict. The problem exists, and its essence is that NATO adopted this decision without consulting us, the foreign minister of the Russian Federation said in response to a question from Czech radio.

[Begin recording; Kozyrev in Russian fading into superimposed Czech translation] Thus the ball is in their court. We favor a joint course of action and our choice [volba] is thus absolutely clear. But this has nothing to do with the lasting East-West division. I think that the concept of all spheres of influence in the sense of superpowers enjoying a dominant position is a remnant of the past. If we talk about spheres of interests, I do not conceal the fact that we have an interest in having good relations with the Czech Republic, Poland, and Slovakia and that we perhaps even have special interests. But we respect all countries. You certainly understand that distant countries, with which we have never had close contacts, are one thing; but our contacts with the Czech lands are the closest possible.

When I was speaking today to a professor of Russian at Charles University, he confirmed to me that there were so many people interested in studying it that students had to compete for places. We are pleased about this, and this is that special interest I spoke about—to preserve our cultural and spiritual relations. [end recording]

However, the interpretation of some people, who say that Russia intends to dominate, dictate, and issue permission or bans, is absurd. This all is the past, Andrey Kozyrev stressed in his interview with Czech Radio. He went on to say:

[Begin Kozyrev recording] The division of the world into blocs, the West and the East, is also the past. This is why

I am striving to search for ways that would not preserve this division. The unification of Europe is the CSCE's final aim, expressed in every [CSCE] document, involving both us and you. And it is necessary to make further progress. I discussed this with the [Czech] president and the [Czech] foreign minister. It is necessary to think in specific terms. To be more specific, a CSCE meeting at the highest level will take place at the end of this year.

In my view, this is the forum where decisions aimed at achieving this target should be made—instead of going the opposite way, toward some sort of crusade. The truth is that some demons, smelling of mothballs and emerging from graves, have been attacking us in an attempt to gain power over us. Some people speak about crusades, now at the end of the 20th century. Others speculate about a division of the world, for various reasons, into East and West. [end recording]

In reality, we are living at the end of the 20th century, when the topical issue is a united Europe, the Russian foreign minister repeated and stressed.

[Begin Kozyrev recording] This is a specific job. I am aware of the fact that many people do not like this because it involves ideas and day-to-day work. This is the most difficult process of dialogues, talks, and consultative meetings, acceptance of other views. You want one thing and your partner proposes something a bit different. Such day-to-day work is something you have to take into account. On the other hand, single-minded judges do not need to listen to anybody; they say what they want. This is why, for many cheap politicians, this is the activity they like most from a psychological point of view. On one side you have a concept, on the other a declaration. I am in favor of the former variant and this is also the purpose of my visit: not to look for disputed points and subjects but, instead, to look for progress towards a united Europe. As far as this is concerned, my talks with President Havel were very constructive indeed. He is a man who is also searching. He is prepared to listen and formulate ideas. To make statements to the media about insuperable differences is something different; it is a way to score political points on the domestic political scene. [end recording]

Foreign Ministry Disagrees With Bandys's Initiative

LD2102135894 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1300 GMT 21 Feb 94

[Text] The Czech Foreign Ministry today expressed fundamental disagreement with the action of Defense Minister Antonin Bandys, who, at the end of last week, submitted to some foreign representatives his initiative for solving the situation in Bosnia.

According to the Foreign Ministry's statement, the action of [Defense] Minister [Antonin] Bandys has created a totally unacceptable situation for the foreign policy interests of the Czech Republic, has damaged its reputation, and is a clear infringement of a government minister's jurisdiction.

Presentation of Initiative 'Unusual'

LD2102215394 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 2000 GMT 21 Feb 94

[Text] In an interview with journalists during his visit to Turkey, Defense Minister Antonin Bandys admitted today that the way his initiative was made public, without preliminary consultation with the government, was unusual. He said that he had been forced to take this course of action by the approaching deadline of the NATO ultimatum to Bosnia Serbs. He said that his intention was guided by a wish that several ideas were tabled to the international officials who could make a decision on the issues concerned.

According to Bandys, a possible lengthy debate on the initiative in Czech political structures would have devalued the content of the document.

Omnipol Trying To Market KONKURS Missiles

AU2102163294 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 18 Feb 94 p 2

[Article by "(ivh)": "Omnipol Is Trying To Sell Missiles"]

[Text] Prague/Adamov—The Adast Adamov shareholding company has 440 KONKURS antitank guided missiles intended for sale in its warehouses. This information was given to a LIDOVE NOVINY correspondent by Adast Director General Jan Dosek.

Adast acquired the weapons, worth 168 million korunas, as a debt payment from the Slovak enterprise ZVS [General Engineering Plants] Dubnica, which made the explosive and propulsion elements of the casings for the missiles manufactured in Adamov. Dubnica went into debt in 1992 when the Federal Army (as the only customer) refused to take delivery of an order for 900 missiles. "Payment in missiles was the only way of getting the debt from Dubnica," said Dosek. Adast Adamov has entrusted the Prague-based Omnipol company with the deal. It deals in the export of Czech weapons.

"So far, we have not managed to sell one KONKURS missile," said Jiri Sir, Omnipol's commercial director, to LIDOVE NOVINY. According to him, these are weapons made under a Russian license at a relatively high cost. Sir claims that comparable missiles, the French MILAN missile and the U.S. TOW missile, are cheaper than our missiles. He said that the weapons trade is going through a recession, and, moreover, the market is flooded with antitank missiles from the states of the former USSR. "Supplying these defensive weapons to UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] units offers us some chance," added Sir. He ruled out the possibility of a contract with any of the warring sides,

however. Equipping the KONKURS missiles with an adaptor for the NATO weapon system and selling them to the Czech Army would be an extreme solution.

S. Fritzl, deputy director of the special materials department at the Trade and Industry Ministry Licensing Administration, told LIDOVE NOVINY that Omnipol submitted two applications last year for a license to export the KONKURS missiles; however, his department turned them down. The reason was that the international community considers the end-user countries to be high-risk regions. The Licensing Administration has not registered any applications this year to export antitank missiles.

Delegation Led by Meciar Arrives in PRC

LD2002210094 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 2030 GMT 20 Feb 94

[Text] After stopovers in Moscow and Tashkent, a Slovak delegation led by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar arrived in China today for an official visit.

At Sheremetyevo airport in Moscow, the Slovak prime minister met Russian Deputy Prime Minister Yuriy Yarov. Vladimir Meciar said that an agreement with Russia on goods exchange is being drafted and will be signed during a visit by Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin to Bratislava.

In Tashkent, Vladimir Meciar met Uzbek Prime Minister Abdulhashim Mutalov. According to him [as heard], Slovakia can participate in a water-management project and in the development of the gas and oil industry in the Republic of Uzbekistan.

Tomorrow, Vladimir Meciar will meet Chinese Premier Li Peng and President Jiang Zemin.

Visit Considered 'Very Significant'

LD1902200894 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 19 Feb 94

[Text] The official Slovak Government delegation, headed by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, left by air for a visit to the People's Republic of China early this evening. The composition of our delegation, which includes Finance Minister Julius Toth, Economy Minister Jan Ducky, Culture Minister Dusan Slobodnik, Vladimir Masar, the governor of the National Bank of Slovakia, and representatives of commercial and business circles, forecasts the aim of this Asian journey. It is signing an agreement on trade and economic cooperation that will supplement the agreements signed so far—for example, that on prevention of double taxation, on the support and protection of investments, on economic and technical cooperation, and on the 1992 protocol on mutual trade.

Whether or not the fact that China was one of the first countries that recognized the independent Slovak Republic can be understood as a certain guarantee that that country counts on us for the future as its business and economic partner will be clearer for us only after the end of mutual talks.

Martin Bartisek interviewed Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar in this connection before his departure for China.

[Begin recording] [Bartisek] Chinese products are not unknown on our markets. This country is at present undergoing what I would term a quiet economic boom. To a certain extent it is helped by the United States, and the West European and advanced Asian countries. Has our economy any chance in this strong competition on the Chinese market?

[Meciar] The first condition is for us to be there, to be able to cope with the environment, to master the new conditions because businessmen from all over the place are going to China now. Nowadays there is room there for a chemical industry, a textile industry, consumer goods. It is a market with an enormous number of people. In other words, it is an opportunity for us to be there.

On the other hand, we offer the possibility of cooperation with our firms for Chinese businessmen, the possibility of cooperation in that they could get to our markets, the possibility of cooperation in that we might think of joint actions in third countries and that there could even be a certain form of capital interlinking that would be advantageous for us. All these are facts that are important for us, and that is why I consider the visit to China very significant. After it, the visit to Thailand will follow. It has a different aim, but opening the doors to great China is an opportunity for Slovakia.

[Bartisek] Prime Minister, your delegation, apart from Economy Minister Jan Ducky, includes a number of businessmen, heads of state enterprises, and private companies. I ask whether conditions have been created today for our small private businesses to establish concrete agreements in China.

[Meciar] The basic conditions are being created, but let us say that it is customary that, during my travels, I am accompanied by representatives of employers' unions. It is because each trip has to be highly efficient, used not only in the political and economic part I am presenting but also in the part that is presented by representatives of the unions, industry, and so on. They gain practical experience of an actual partner and then implement what I agree. Thus, the time between my visit and their visit is shortened to zero. China now buys a lot of goods abroad [words indistinct] sell our work. [end recording]

Russian Foreign Minister Postpones Visit

LD2102125594 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 21 Feb 94

[Text] According to information from Roman Buzek, director of the Press Department of our Ministry of Foreign Affairs, following an agreement with the Russian side, [Foreign Minister] Andrey Kozyrev's visit to Slovakia has been postponed to a later date. The date will be set later through diplomatic channels.

Prime Minister Meciar Holds News Conference

LD1802164094 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 18 Feb 94

[Text] [Announcer] It has been reported from parliament by our colleague Michal Tvarozek that deputies from the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] have proposed the abolition of the government decree on the conditions of the transfer of state property to other persons, the

authority of Julius Toth to endorse exemptions, and a resolution that endorses the sale of the Novofruct enterprise in Nove Zamky.

They have also asked the general prosecutor to investigate the legality of these proceedings.

Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar said at a news conference at 1130 [1030 GMT] today that the draft of the resolution had been brought to him by Ivan Gasparovic, parliamentary speaker, this morning.

Vladimir Meciar went on to say:

[Begin recording] [Meciar] I would like to point out the following: The draft of the resolution of the Slovak parliament (?although it is not signed by anyone) is a result of talks between the SDL and the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH].

It says in Point 1:

It abolishes, according to Paragraph 87, Section 3 of Law No. 44 of 1989 first the Decree of the Government of the Slovak Republic No. 273 of 1991 on the exemptions from Paragraph 45 of Law No. 92 of 1991 on the conditions of the transfer of state property to other persons; the Decree of the Slovak Government No. 40 of 1992; the Decree of the Slovak Goverment No. 144 of 1993; and the decree of the Slovak Government No. 151 of 1993.

Second, the Decree of the Government of the Slovak Republic of 15 February 1994, which authorizes Julius Toth, deputy prime minister and minister of finance, to endorse the exemptions from Paragraph 45, Section 1 of Law No. 92 of 1991.

Third, the Resolution of the Government of the Slovak Republic of 15 February 1994, which endorses the transfer of the property of the Novofruct state enterprise in Nove Zamky by direct sale to the company (?CV Slovakia) Ltd Nove Zamky and the (?Maktomat) Ltd Zvolen.

In Section 2: According to Paragraph 91 of Law No. 44 of 1989 and Article 4 of Law No. 17 of 1993 it asks the general prosecutor to launch investigations against Vladimir Meciar, Slovak prime minister, who is also in charge of the Ministry for Administration and Privatization of the Slovak Republic, and also against Julius Toth, deputy prime minister and minister of finance of the Slovak Republic, in the matter of the legality of:

First, the transfer of the ownership and the property of enterprises carried out according to Paragraph 45, Section 2 of Law No. 92 of 1991 in the version of the decree of the Slovak Government No. 151 of 1993 and according to the resolution of the government of 15 February 1994, which authorizes the deputy prime minister and minister of finance to endorse exemptions according to Paragraph 45, Section 2.

Second, decisions of the government on the transfer of the property of the Novofruct Nove Zamky state enterprise by direct sale to the company (?CV Slovakia) Ltd Nove Zamky and (?Matsomat) Ltd Zvolen.

Third, the decision of the government on the sale of the shares [words indistinct] by direct sale to the company (?Monis) Ltd in Levice.

In Section 3: It calls on Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, who is in charge of the Ministry for Administration and Privatization of National Property, and Julius Toth, deputy prime minister and minister of finance, to resign due to the deliberate violation of the constitutional oath on observing the law in cases of the transfer of state property.

Commenting on those facts I would like to say the following:

First, the National Council does not have the right to cancel cabinet resolutions. This is why some different bodies are entitled to act if these resolutions contradict the law.

Second, I do not have anything against the request addressed to the General Prosecutor's Office to assess whether any action by the cabinet is in accordance with the law. On the contrary, I am in favor of this course of action. In this context I am sending a letter to the prosecutor general to ask him to investigate whether the matter of the October early elections is not linked to an attempt to politically blackmail the prime minister and the chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS].

Third, this appeal (?anticipates) the result. It was not put together on the basis of any investigation. Nobody studied the evidence and nobody studied the facts of the case. This is an attempt to disgrace some people.

I would like to say that this is just putting the finishing touches to the picture of the deep, above all moral, crisis of Slovakia's political life, polititics of the SDL, and others who participate in this. This also indicates the depth of the crisis of political life in which the Slovak Republic has found itself. This also indicates an attempt to solve the problem of elections by disgracing the name of the government coalition representatives even before the elections starts.

I have already experienced something similar. It was when I was persecuted for being perceived as the main representative of the future formation of the Slovak state. You have witnessed many events, many scandals involving me—including when I was accused of crimes—and attempts to discredit me. As intelligence documents have gradually emerged from the archives those involved have even attempted suicides.

This is the first time this has come from the midst of Slovak political parties, an attempt to discredit another party and its leadership without any evidence and without proper study.

I refute such methods. I also reject those who are involved in carrying them out.

Last night there were talks between the SDL and the KDH, and talks were being prepared between the HZDS and the SDL. Today at 1500 [1400 GMT] we were to meet each other. I think that given the aforementioned information we do not have anything to discuss. We need an honest partner. The use of blackmail and pressure as the means of talks with HZDS officials is not permissable for anybody under any circumstances.

Parliamentary mathematics gives them a majority. They can express a vote of no confidence in the cabinet and the cabinet can resign. This is democratic. I reject their methods and will neither submit to them nor respect them.

Meciar Favors Early Parliamentary Elections

LD1802162294 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 18 Feb 94

[Excerpt] Despite the fact that a bill on early elections sponsored by deputies received the support of as many as 11 deputies from the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] yesterday and that another 11 HZDS deputies abstained from the vote, this movement is still the biggest parliamentary party and thus a new date for early parliamentary elections cannot be approved without the HZDS.

Martin Bartisek obtained the answers of Vladimir Meciar, the movement's chairman and Slovak prime minister, on the following topical issues.

[Begin recording] [Bartisek] As the word referendum is likely to be used with increasing frequency in the days to come, I would like to ask the following question: Certain political moves will undoubtedly follow and, as you yourself have said, there is a chance of reaching a political agreement between political parties and movements. Following political talks, is the month of September, when the early elections should be held, acceptable to you?

[Meciar] [passage omitted] Why should we need such a long period to organize elections? Who needs it? The later the elections are held the worse, the worse it will be for the state, the worse it will be for the economy, and the worse it will be for the social sphere. That's what the struggle we are waging with the opposition parties is all about.

As for who is holding the initiative in this respect, then this is a matter of no consequence. What is important is that the state benefits, and whether we succeed or not is a matter of secondary importance to me; the protection of the state has priority. That's the essence of how I feel and how the HZDS feels about the elections.

[Bartisek] Still, is September actually realistic for you, or will it not be acceptable?

[Meciar] At the moment this is under discussion. All the parties are engaged in permanent consultations and, until these talks have ended, I do not want to say anything about their conclusion.

[Bartisek] In your view, how should the question in the referendum—the question on which citizens should give their unequivocal answer—be formulated?.

[Meciar] Let's recall the Slovak Republic's electoral system and the interpretation of the constitutional provisions which deputies interpreted to benefit them rather than the people. In other words, here I am, I have made promises, and I am not fulfilling my promises. That must not happen. The way in which the question should be formulated is that the deputies, who abandoned the initial policies and the parties and movements on behalf of which they stood, should not thus lose their mandate. Another reason is that the electoral system is based on proportional representation of the parties.

The second question should ask whether early elections should be held immediately, but no later than June 1994 which is in the interest of the state.

The third question should ask whether all those are taking part in privatization should not be compelled to show where their money for privatization comes from. I would like this to be included in the referendum, because so far I have been unable to assert this in any other way. Showing where the money comes from could be one of the dominant questions in the referendum...

[Bartisek, interrupting] Do you think that you could get away with putting three questions of such importance to a citizen in the referendum? Is it actually acceptable?

[Meciar] Yes, I think it is. In technical terms it can be done. It is possible. These are the three questions which cannot be answered anywhere else. [end recording]

Meciar on Referendum, Government Makeup

LD1802195694 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 18 Feb 94

[Regular interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Martin Bartisek; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Bartisek] [passage omitted] This week's events in the Slovak National Council were very meaningful. But we are not here to comment on them in the literal sense, although their progress has disturbed citizens to a certain degree. There now exists only the possibility of a referendum, since the government and deputies have failed to have their proposals passed on shortening the term of office. Mr. Prime Minister, what are your next steps in this direction?

[Meciar] Today, nobody doubts anymore that there is a parliamentary crisis here. We must do everything we can to avoid this developing into a government crisis. This parliamentary crisis can be resolved in two ways. I

consider it fundamental for citizens to support a referendum through the petition documents. Of course, there is a chance that the opposition will propose a petition, by means of a decree by the republic's president, that would also support a referendum, but with a different content and as late as possible. Between these two proposals—that of the government and that of the opposition—it seems on the surface that it is only a period of a few months. No, it is a question of one year of economic and social life. If the country and political life are not speedily stabilized, the loans will be delayed, they will be made conditional on still further compromises, there will be a slowdown and an end to foreign help and investment, we will become untrustworthy in the context of privatization, and we might find ourselves in a situation where the economy and stability of prices and other things is split to such a degree that the citizen would have to pay. The citizen has the right and duty to avoid this development. [passage omitted]

[Bartisek] Mr. Prime Minister, you put forward a proposal to dismiss Roman Kovac, saying that his post would not be filled again. Does this mean that the complex of issues he is responsible for will be spread among others, or does it mean that four deputy prime ministers are really a sufficient number now?

[Meciar] My proposal views the solution as one of personal attitude toward the program and the movement. It is obvious that Cabinet members who join a conspiracy to prepare a new Cabinet cannot stay on in this Cabinet. I am waiting for the president's reaction, I have not heard from him yet.

The fact that for the time being I will not appoint anybody to the post of deputy prime minister does not affect the number of posts; it is a matter of political anticipation. I am aware of the fact that I have to reach an accord with somebody. However, those I will reach an accord with will ask for an appropriate representation in the Cabinet. This means I am keeping the door open for future talks and for future decisions. I think we will not have to wait long for such talks, for such decisions.

I am concerned about the possibility that the opposition will engage in piecemeal tactics in parliament, dismissing one Cabinet member after another. This would lead to further instability and might lead to a crisis within the Cabinet, were Cabinet members to stop being flexible [zatali by sa] and not prepared to continue their work under such conditions.

I cannot fail to see that the president is also hinting at something that does not necessarily seem to be going in the direction that he outlined on 1 January 1994. The development should be normal, it should lead to the stabilization of our state, and it should finally allow us to concentrate on positive work instead of fighting each other. Fighting for what? For a failure? For the failure of our state? That would be the failure of all of us. Thus, I am inclined to expect from the opposition a change of attitude and statesmanlike wisdom.

[Bartisek] Have you not revealed too many of your cards now?

[Meciar] I have revealed only some, but without having something more in reserve I would not tell you this.

[Bartisek] At its meeting yesterday the National Council passed the heavily debated bill amending the present law on the privatization of big enterprises. Some parliamentary deputies have described it as being consistent since it combines positive aspects of the government's draft with positive aspects submitted by the opposition. This amendment should be close to being perfect. This is why it would be interesting to know whether you will sign the bill.

[Meciar] We shall first examine the bill. It is 99 percent certain that the government will return it to the National Council by way of the president. The duty to sign the bill will arise only after it has been debated once again. The bill contains certain matters that have not been thought through properly, and we, therefore, regard it as correct that the National Council should again discuss comments the government will make. I expect that these discussions will lead to me being able shortly to introduce to the public the new minister for privatization, since in the original version of the bill there was not going to be a Ministry for Privatization at all. This is why it was logical for us to expect that after the final standpoint was clarified an appointment might be made. There is no longer any doubt at present that the opposition too is interested in maintaining the ministry, and one fundamental obstacle to an appointment has, therefore, been removed. My hands shall, therefore, be somewhat freed for political work.

Meciar Accuses SDL of 'Political Blackmail'

LD1802154294 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1400 GMT 18 Feb 94

[Text] Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar gave an extraordinary news conference in Bratislava today at which he accused the opposition of attempting to blackmail him to accept the October election date.

He announced that before noon he had been visited by Parliament Chairman Ivan Gasparovic, who had shown him a draft resolution by Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] deputies to be adopted by the National Council should the prime minister not agree to hold early elections in October this year.

The resolution proposes to cancel some previous Cabinet decisions in the sphere of privatization of enterprises and to have the course of action taken by the prime minister and Julius Toth, the deputy prime minister and finance minister, investigated by the General Prosecutor's Office. The resolution calls on the two Cabinet officials to resign.

In this context, Vladimir Meciar said that he is asking the General Prosecutor's Office to investigate the possibility of this being attempted political blackmail. He added that this illustrates the deep moral crisis of the politics of the SDL and others who participated in this action.

Meciar went on to confirm that the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia held talks yesterday evening about a broad coalition with the representatives of the Slovak National Party, the SDL, and the Christian Democratic Movement. However, he rejected speculation that he had offered specific ministerial posts to SDL Deputy Chairman Peter Kanis.

SDL Chairman Rejects Accusation

LD1802174794 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 18 Feb 94

[Text] At a special news conference held in the parliamentary building today, Peter Weiss, chairman of the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL], rejected accusations levelled against the SDL that they had attempted to blackmail Prime Minister Meciar and the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS]. Weiss said that on the basis of the 17 February debate on the endorsement of privatization projects, Deputy Juraj Plesnik, as the vice chairman of the parliamentary committee for privatization, had examined certain procedures adopted by the government when endorsing privatization projects during the past days. He had come to a conclusion that a suspicion existed that the law had been violated.

Weiss went on to say that, in view of the seriousness of the content of the speech Deputy Plesnik had planned to make to the National Council, he had deemed it appropriate to inform parliamentary speaker Ivan Gasparovic. The latter had visited Vladimir Meciar and had given him the first version of the draft resolution. According to Weiss, that version had been different than the one Deputy Plesnik had delivered to the National Council.

Weiss regards the move made by Meciar as being a pretext to prevent an agreement on holding an early election and a referendum.

SNS Congress Expels Chairman Cernak

LD1902180694 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 19 Feb 94

[Text] An extraordinary congress of the Slovak National Party [SNS] is under way in Zilina today. Our colleague Marian Hudec reports:

[Hudec] The beginning of the expected SNS congress has not attracted the attention of the Zilina population.

At the very beginning SNS Chairman Ludovit Cernak and over 40 other delegates left the hall, allegedly as a protest against undemocratic practices in the form of manipulation of the congress deliberations beforehand.

The delegates to the extraordinary congress expelled Cernak, Anton Hrnko, and Vladimir Miskovsky from the party. The other rebels still have a chance to rejoin the party, if they ask for their readmission in writing before a deadline.

The chairman of the SNS parliamentary group announced a little while ago that Ludovit Cernak will be deprived of his post of deputy chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic. This ensues from coalition talks. An SNS candidate will be appointed to the post.

The delegates to the congress are electing a new party chairman now. There are four candidates for this post: Jozef Prokes, Vitazoslav Moric, Marian Andel, and Jan Slota.

Cernak supporters are holding deliberations at the House of Technology in Zilina, probably about the formation of a new party.

Slota Elected Chairman

LD1902213094 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 19 Feb 94

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The several months of arguments in the Slovak National Party about its priorities and directions culminated in the National Council in December of last year. At that time, a parliamentary National Democratic Group of the Slovak National Party [SNS] came into being, headed by Ludovit Cernak. The existence of two parliamentary groups under the roof of one political party should have definitively been solved by the sixth SNS congress in Zilina today. Anna Samelova and Ivan Samel report:

[Passage omitted] [Samelova] The delegates slimmed down the original congress agenda. Instead of the planned address by Ludovit Cernak with a report on the activity of the party since the last congress in April of last year, the report by Jozef Prokes on the situation in the Slovak National Party, following the birth of the SNS parliamentary National Democratic Group, a debate on the two addresses, and the following voting on the recall of Ludovit Cernak from the post of SNS chairman, the delegates reduced by voting all the four points into one: And that is recalling Ludovit Cernak. The explanation was on the pretext of saving time. After that, however, Jozef Prokes granted the following explanation to the journalists.

[Begin Prokes recording] This assembly was called as extraordinary on the basis of a 15 January Central Council resolution on the basis of the fact that the chairman does not fulfill the resolutions of this Central Council or any other resolutions, thus infringing upon the statutes. This congress has not been convened to discuss the development of the whole party or its administration, but because of his [Cernak's] activities. For example, the actual Central Council resolutions of 15 January presented to the deputies, members of the SNS,

to return to the SNS group. Then it [the Council] asked him to give up the post of chairman, which he did not do. [end recording]

[Samel] Ludovit Cernak, Vladimir Miskovsky, Anton Hrnko, and 63 participants in the congress, out of this approximately 50 delegates from 18 districts, considered the explanations formulated in this way to be an undemocratic solution to the problems. That is why they left the debating hall at 1230 and moved to the Zilina House of Technology. [passage omitted]

[Samel] From this moment, two independent groups of the formerly united SNS had talks. As to Ludovit Cernak, we were interested in the next political steps of his group.

[Begin Cernak recording] In Slovakia political parties cannot be born by division like cells. On the other hand, as politicians, we are responsible for crystallizing embryos that crystallize on the Slovak political scene. That is why I should like to address very briefly the other parties in the center, right of center, possibly those on the other side of the center, on the political orientation and to coordinate the progress. Consistent policies are then capable of shifting those political forces that only talk and do not act according to their orientation. [end recording]

[Announcer] According to the latest information, a group of Ludovit Cernak's supporters decided to form a new political entity under the working name of the National Democratic Party [Narodno-Demokraticka Strana (NDS)].

Meanwhile, the delegates to the original SNS congress dismissed SNS Chairman Ludovit Cernak and, after two voting rounds, elected Jan Slota as his successor. He received 70 votes, with 59 against. [Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak at 2030 GMT reports a varying final total, noting that Jan Slota was elected SNS chairman by 70 votes in favor and 49 opposed.]

Slota Says Party 'Purified'

LD1902221494 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1830 GMT 19 Feb 94

[Text] The Slovak National Party [SNS] has been purified after the departure of Cernak and his colleagues. In the future, it will again have a national orientation, as its name indicates.

Jan Slota said this at a briefing in Zilina after his being elected chairman of the SNS.

According to Slota, the SNS will continue to cooperate with the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia as a coalition partner, while supporting programs of other parties that have the good of Slovak citizens in mind.

Cernak's Group To Establish New Party

LD2102174794 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 21 Feb 94

[Excerpts] Members of the parliamentary National Democratic Club of the Slovak National Party [SNS] headed by Ludovit Cernak have decided to establish a new party with the working title National Democratic Party [Narodno Demokraticka Strana]. In this context our correspondent asked the leader of this group Ludovit Cernak for a comment. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] How will the situation that has arisen affect the Slovak domestic political scene as a whole?

[Cernak] It will affect the domestic political situation. We have to find a proper place, a place we belong to. We will have to do this, so that a normal voter would recognize whose policies are demagogic and who is genuinely interested in defending Slovakia's interests. In the medium term, given the people we have, given their ideas and their potential, I dare say I will very quickly build a nationally oriented alternative for Slovakia, an alternative that will not play second fiddle in the early parliamentary elections.

[Correspondent] In what way are you going to sort out the situation of the SNS National Democratic group in the parliament?

[Cernak] It is likely that the decision to expel us and to urge us to surrender our mandates will not be made in the parliament. But no matter what happens, we will retain our membership in the deputies' group we have created and we will be implementing the policy which the whole group and not only our faction should have represented. We will give the correct names to all the deeds and all the mishaps, so that the Slovak voter will not succumb to populism again, so that this voter can compare words with deeds. [passage omitted]

Hungarian Civic Party Urges Three-Party Coalition

LD2102221494 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 21 Feb 94

[Excerpt] Today the Hungarian Civic Party of Slovakia issued a call urging the coalition of three Hungarian parties. Our Bratislava correspondent Ildiko Nagy outlines the document.

[Nagy] With respect to the activity of the governing party's petition committee, which was formed at the weekend, aimed at collecting 350,000 signatures to demand a referendum, today the Hungarian Civic Party published an appeal. It calls on Slovakia's citizens, especially the Hungarian electors, not to join the call for a referendum, which [Prime Minister] Meciar has been urging.

It also calls on the leaders of the Coexistence and the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement to start

talks without delay in preparation for a Hungarian three-party coalition, with regard to the situation that has evolved and the possibility of early elections.

The need for this coalition is also proved by what [Coexistence leader] Miklos Duray said at today's news briefing of the Coexistence, namely that prior to last week's parliament session the Slovak opposition had not held talks with the Hungarian parliamentary coalition on cooperation. [passage omitted]

Ethnic Hungarians Look Toward Fall of Meciar

LD2002143394 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0805 GMT 20 Feb 94

[Excerpts] [Announcer] [passage omitted] There is an internal political crisis in Slovakia at the moment. [passage omitted] Ildiko Nagy reports:

[Nagy] [passage omitted] The preparations for the big parliamentary battle did have one beneficial outcome: The Hungarian parliamentary parties and the Slovak opposition sat down at last at the negotiating table. We asked Bela Bugar [also known as Vojtech Bugar], chairman of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement, about the significance of this.

[Begin recording] [Bugar] The opposition finally understood that it is not possible to leave out of this process the views of Slovakia's (?15) percent Hungarians, of their legitimate representatives. They were not even aware that while they needed the 14 votes [of the ethnic Hungarian coalition], they merely pushed the [voting] button; they did not even coordinate with us.

We had asked for several things. In the end, we managed to agree that the government—that is, the government coalition, which would function until the elections, early elections—when it is formed, will not conduct a policy of confrontation vis-a-vis the minorities. Those methods that it will employ in its minority policy, it will coordinate with the recommendations of the Council of Europe.

I know that this is not a great achievement; what is more, I would not even call this an achievement. But on the other hand we must also realize a number of things. One thing is that this government, when it is formed, will be able to function for six to eight months. Now it will not even be that long. Because it will depend on whether we manage to agree to get the Meciar government, let us say, to fall within a short time.

The other thing is that it is in peoples' interest, as voting citizens, but I think of all of us, that Meciar's government should vanish very rapidly from the political scene. One only has to look: They privatize about 10 firms every day, which of course brings in large amounts of money, and one cannot say that the decisions are taken to the advantage of the voting citizen.

Another thing is that this government cannot alter the political method that it has shaped here in the last two years. This [method] does not satisfy a single citizen of Slovakia.

[Nagy] Will the agreement that has just come about between the Hungarian parties and the Slovak opposition parties be valid even if the new coalition government does not come into being?

[Bugar] Perhaps I could put it this way: I am convinced that after yesterday's [18 February] discussions, and if our previous steps are taken into consideration, I think that not only Jan Carnogursky [chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement] and his people, but also the other political movements—perhaps with the exception of the Slovak National Party—will be ready for this agreement. So, I feel that by now a system has evolved in which we can cooperate. [end recording]

World Bank Grants $80 Million Loan

LD1902120894 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 19 Feb 94

[Text] An agreement on an $80-million loan to the Slovak Republic has been signed at the World Bank in Washington. The loan is earmarked for economic recovery and will be used to boost foreign currency reserves. The terms of the loan are advantageous, and its repayment will begin in August 1999.

Jeszenszky Praises Russian Role in Sarajevo

LD2102084494 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0700 GMT 21 Feb 94

[Excerpts] [Announcer] We telephoned Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky and asked him the opinion of the Hungarian Government about Sarajevo.

[Jeszenszky] [passage omitted] Russian mediation played a significant role here, not only insofar as Russia has persuaded the Serbs—who have always been inclined to listen to Russian advice—it has persuaded them to withdraw the weapons, but also insofar as Russia is filling the vacuum, and that Russian troops, in whom the Serbs perhaps have confidence, more confidence, are taking over control, at least in part, in these areas.

Russian Foreign Minister Visits Budapest

LD2102122494 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1200 GMT 21 Feb 94

[Text] The Russian foreign minister, touring the Visegrad Group of countries, has arrived in Budapest. Andrey Kozyrev will hold negotiations with his Hungarian colleague Geza Jeszenszky. The two foreign ministers will give an international news conference about their talks. The Russian foreign minister will also be received by Arpad Goncz, president of the Hungarian Republic, and Prime Minister Peter Boross.

Meets With Goncz

LD2202113594 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 22 Feb 94

[Text] [Announcer] President of the Republic Arpad Goncz has received Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev. Our reporter, who was present at the event, has just got in touch, so we go over to Jozsef Barath:

[Barath] Good morning. Arpad Goncz began his talks with Andrey Kozyrev with congratulations. Russian diplomacy has saved the world from the dangers which the deterioration of the circumstances in Bosnia might have meant, he said. And it has saved NATO from the loss of prestige which would inevitably have followed from an intervention, or from unavoidable withdrawal.

At the same time, Russian diplomacy has once again strengthened its prestige, which increases the region's stability.

At the discussion, which was longer than planned, Arpad Goncz praised the cooperation of the West and NATO, which has led, which could lead, to the negotiated settlement of the Balkan crisis. The key to this, however, lies in the hands of the region's people.

Kozyrev conveyed the greetings of President Yeltsin to Arpad Goncz and said that in making foreign political decisions, Boris Yeltsin begins with what would increase security. If Russia had been left out of the Bosnian settlement, this could have destabilized the Balkans and the whole of Central Europe. That is why there was a need for Russia to assume an increased role.

Russia supports cooperation—the Partnership for Peace—with NATO. And within the CSCE process, it is ready for cooperation also in the matter of the national minorities and other issues as well.

Defense Minister Fur Elected MDF Chairman

LD1902175794 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 19 Feb 94

[Excerpt] Edit Schranz is on the line from the national convention of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] where a press briefing is being held by the newly elected chairman.

[Schranz] The seventh national convention of the MDF has elected Lajos Fur as party chairman. Out of the 729 votes cast, 685 were in favor and 44 votes were invalid. [passage omitted]

Fur Comments

LD1902220494 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 19 Feb 94

[Excerpt] [Announcer] [passage omitted] Peter Gyuricza and Edit Schranz report on the day's events at the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] congress.

[Gyuricza] In the spring of 1989 the sober majority voted for pure democracy, and not for anarchy or the patching up of the defeated system. And the question now is whether democracy will remain, whether the pure system, whose foundations were laid by the Hungarian Democratic Forum together with the coalition partners, will continue, Lajos Fur said, thanking the National Convention for its trust.

He described fidelity [hueseg] as an important expression of our day. He recalled that four years ago a promise was made to remain faithful to the spirit of Lakitelek, to its declaration, to the MDF. Now there must be a pledge to remain faithful to the traditions, and at the same time, also to modern democracy, to social market economy, faithful to social justice, to the idea of the nation, to Hungarianness [magyarsag], MDF Chairman Lajos Fur said.

[Schranz] At the news conference tonight, weighing up the 1994 elections, the MDF chairman said it would be ideal if the party gained as many seats in the parliament as in the 1990 elections. But Lajos Fur also added that he is certain that the MDF's share in the election will be between 20 and 30 percent.

Sandor Lezsak, MDF deputy chairman and Presidium member, said in answer to a question: The MDF will not conclude a coalition just to be able to take part in government. It seems, continued the party's executive chairman, that the policies of the Hungarian Socialist

Party and of the Alliance of Free Democrats are irreconcilable with the MDF's program.

Warns of Left-Wing Threat

LD1902222994 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 19 Feb 94

[Text] [Announcer] The keynote in the maiden speech of the new chairman was the importance of the struggle against the left wing. Our reporter Edit Schranz asked him about this.

[Begin recording] [Schranz] Lajos Fur, you are the chairman of the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum]. In the speech you delivered after your election, you said that the stakes at the elections in May will be the same again—that was how you put it: Will there be democracy, or to be more precise, will democracy remain? Because, you said, the left wing today wants to regain power. Would you tell us what you meant by that? Or rather, could we understand it to mean also that if the left wing were to win in the '94 elections, then democracy could be endangered in Hungary?

[Fur] Yes, that is precisely what it's about. I said here too that they could hijack—they could divert from its path—the process that we began, which, with its circumspect policies, I am convinced serves the country's real interests.

And with the left wing, unfortunately, ideological factors always come to the forefront—some kind of ideological things—and these ideological matters usually divert the truth from the channel in which it usually flows naturally.

[Schranz] Just one question: Even during the MDF period, accusations were been leveled at it that, from certain points of view, it [word indistinct] in, or it brings in ideology into this or that decision. What is your opinion?

[Fur] They were wrong, false accusations and slanders. [end recording]

Discusses Economy, Bosnia

LD2002112494 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 20 Feb 94

[Text] Lajos Fur, the new chairman of the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum], has pledged to continue the policy of Joszef Antall. In the Sunday Newspaper radio program, he stressed that there must be reconciliation between the churches and various strata of society.

Evaluating the government party's economic policy, Fur said that it has been possible to squeeze back inflation. He mentioned by way of example that in January price increases were barely above 3 percent, although they had themselves been reckoning with inflation of around 6 percent. Economic growth had already begun last year, he said, mentioning the building industry as an example.

Lajos Fur spoke about the situation that has evolved along our southern borders. The Hungarian Government's position is unequivocal: It does not wish to get mixed up in the conflict and it also declared that when it stated that in the event of conflict, NATO planes would not be allowed into Hungary's airspace. The MDF chairman is of the view that there will probably not be any need for NATO air strikes, because the warring sides in Bosnia will hopefully see reason.

Prime Minister Addresses MDF Convention

LD2002184294 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 20 Feb 94

[Text] According to Hungarian Prime Minister Peter Boross, a democratic state that rejects both totalitarianism and excessive liberalism has to be established in Hungary. In his closing address to the National Convention of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] Boross said that legislation should continue to be given a dominant role in the future. However, the executive power should also be given adequate scope.

According to Boross, there is a need for a foreign policy which keeps in view the integration into the West as well as the life of Hungarians beyond the borders. The prime minister also spoke about the responsibility of the media, saying that the country needed objective, nonparty political, but pronation [nemzeti] public service media.

New Members of MDF Presidium Elected

LD2002111894 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 20 Feb 94

[Text] This morning the Seventh National Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] Convention continued with the brief introduction of the newly elected officials. Yesterday the delegates elected Lajos Fur party chairman by a sweeping majority. The following have become new members of the presidium: Justice Minister Istvan Balsai; Gyoergy Schamschula, leader of the Ministry of Transport and Telecommunications; Laszlo Salamon, chairman of the National Assembly's Constitutional Committee; as well as Krisztina Dobos, National Assembly deputy.

Today, the closing day of the convention, they will be outlining the MDF election platform, which were elaborated by the participants of yesterday's closed faction sessions.

Ministry Supports NATO Position on Bosnia

LD2102135494 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1300 GMT 21 Feb 94

[Text] The Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs [MSZ] fully supports the position of the NATO states with regard to military intervention in the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina. According to Jerzy Chmielewski, of the MSZ European Department, the current situation, which has arisen after the expiry of the NATO ultimatum to the Bosnian Serbs, should be used to consolidate the ceasefire and resume peace talks between the parties involved. Chmielewski's opinion is that as a transition stage, new areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina could be incorporated into the security zones.

Russia To Send More Troops to Bosnia if Needed

LD2202154394 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 1500 GMT 22 Feb 94

[Text] Russia will send more troops to Bosnia if necessary, Andrey Kozyrev has said in Krakow. The Russian foreign minister expressed satisfaction with the development of the situation in the former Yugoslavia and added that one should not lose the impact now.

Ministers Kozyrev and Olechowski talked about relations between NATO, Moscow, and the former Communist states.

Russia's Zhirinovskiy Plans 12 Mar Visit

LD1802204294 Warsaw TVP Television First Program in Polish 1830 GMT 18 Feb 94

[Relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish]

[Text] [Announcer Monika Boniecka] Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, the leader of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party, has, after all, decided to come to Poland on 12 March.

[Correspondent Witold Laskowski, in Moscow] An accused former activist in the radical Self-Defense Movement was meeting the leader of Russian nationalists in freshly refurbished offices in a prestigious building in the center of Moscow, which he described as his Moscow bureau. In a small conference room plates with halves of eggs with black caviar, sandwiches with a less prestigious red caviar, fish, cold meats in aspic, and fruit were already on the table.

This meeting today—does it have any special aim? Are you (?discussing] any concrete issues, or is it just a friendly, social meeting?

[Janusz Bryczkowski, Front Narodowy-Samoobrona, identified by caption] A friendly meeting and we want to discuss, as it were, the agenda of Mr. Zhirinovskiy's visit to Poland.

[Laskowski] Is there already a date?

[Bryczkowski] Oh, yes, there is: The congress of our party is on 12 March.

[Laskowski] And then Mr. Zhirinovskiy would be coming to Poland?

[Bryczkowski] Yes, he announced that he would come with all the entourage of the, as it were, Polish set of his deputies: Mr. (?Zhebrovskiy), Mr. Vengerovskiy.

[Laskowski] Zhirinovskiy failed to come to Poland in January because, as he claims, he had problems with means of transport from Belgrade. Now, Janusz Bryczkowski promises him that he will be meeting businessmen and representatives of otherwise unspecified social organizations.

Zhirinovskiy considers his greatest successes since the parliamentary elections to be the fact that several radical reformers led by Gaydar have left the government. He is temporarily tolerating Prime Minister Chernomyrdin treating him as a lesser evil. He claims that his organization is growing every day. He intends to win the 1996 presidential elections when he is leader of the party with a membership of half a million. Several days ago we almost witnessed a split in Zhirinovskiy's parliamentary faction: One of his closest aides could not agree to irresponsible statements issued by his boss while on foreign trips. Everything is pointing to the fact that Zhirinovskiy will weigh his words while in Poland: Otherwise this visit could just be one of his last foreign trips.

Witold Laskowski speaking for the Wiadomosci [bulletin] from Moscow. [video shows Brykczynski showing Zhirinovskiy into his office; plates with food and drink; Bryczkowski and Zhirinovskiy at table; close-up of Zhirinovskiy; Laskowski to camera outside the Kremlin]

Discusses Visit

LD1802231294 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2200 GMT 18 Feb 94

[Excerpts] Leader of Russian Liberal Democratic Party, Vladimir Volfovich Zhirinovskiy, is to visit Poland on 12 March at the invitation of Janusz Bryczkowski, chairman of the Sammoobrona-National Front, who met Zhirinovskiy today in Moscow. Here's Andrzej Siezieniewski from Moscow. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Siezieniewski] Zhirinovskiy will take part in the first congress of the National Front. His will probably stay several days. Asked about the agenda of the visit, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy said:

[Zhirinovskiy with superimposed Polish translation] Janusz Bryczkowski promised to prepare the whole program. There will be meetings with social organizations, representatives of business and journalists. We will want to pay a visit to some places of national remembrance.

[Siezieniewski] Asked if he is not afraid, that his remarks, for instance about the corridor from Germany to East Prussia across Poland, will not ensure a good reception among the Poles, Zhirinovskiy said:

[Zhirinovskiy] I spoke about it as a possible course of events. If the leaderships of Russia and Poland do not take preventive actions in due time, then the West will try to move its border further. I was in Germany and I know that there are forces willing to regain Moravia, Silesia, or Prussia. I stress, however, that what I was saying was just an outline of a possible scenario for the development of events. We would like that Poland and Russia were linked by good relations, that we finally break with, to a certain extent, the hostility that existed between us. [end recording]

Vladimir Zhirinovskiy expressed the hope that his visit to Poland would serve the rapprochement of our both Slavonic nations.

Russian Foreign Minister To Arrive 22 Feb

LD2102192694 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1615 GMT 21 Feb 94

[Text] Warsaw, 21 Feb—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev will arrive in Poland on 22 February for a two-day working visit. The Russian foreign minister will be visiting Krakow, where he will meet Foreign Minister Andrzej Olechowski.

The talks between the two ministers will be dominated by political issues. The Polish side expects Kozyrev to present a new concept of relations between Russia and the states of east-central Europe. Moreover, the ministers will exchange views on the subject of European security and present their positions on cooperation with NATO, including "Partnership for Peace." Bilateral economic contacts will also be discussed.

According to officials of the Polish MSZ [Foreign Ministry], regarding bilateral issues the two sides are likely to seek forms of political and economic cooperation in spite of the existing differences on individual issues.

One of the problems in Polish-Russian relations is an impasse in talks on settling the status of the Vistula Lagoon. Russia regards the lagoon as part of its internal waters, whereas Poland is demanding that it be designated as open sea, which would make shipping easier and facilitate the development of the town of Frombork as a sea harbor.

An important unresolved issue is also the continued fishing of pollock in the Sea of Okhotsk. Some Russian deputies, as well as ministers, are demanding that fishing ships flying foreign flags be withdrawn from the so-called open area of the Sea of Okhotsk, that is, from international waters. Among other things they are demanding is that the 1987 fishing agreement with Poland be broken off.

During Kozyrev's visit a Polish-Russian agreement will be signed on graves and sites of remembrance. Under the agreement, each sides will, among other things, finance the protection in their own country of sites commemorating deaths of the other country's citizens.

On 23 February the foreign ministers will take part along with politicians and academics in the opening of a three-day Polish-Russian conference entitled "Toward a New Partnership."

Walesa To Visit Switzerland in May

LD2102174694 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1500 GMT 21 Feb 94

[Text] The Swiss Foreign Minister Flavio Cotti, who is now in Poland, and Foreign Minister Andrzej Olechowski have announced that President Lech Walesa would be paying a three-day visit to the Swiss Confederation in the second half of May.

Much attention was paid during talks to the possibilities of improving economic cooperation between our two countries. Attention was also drawn to the need to build a security system in this part of Europe.

Andrzej Olechowski assessed relations between Poland and Switzerland very positively.

[Begin Olechowski recording] It is a country whose friendship and will to help and cooperate with Poland is something we experience every day. Today too this willingness was expressed both in the interest shown by the minister in events in our region, in his understanding of the importance of this region for the future of Europe and in his understanding—which we traditionally find among the Swiss—for economic affairs, something which we also discussed for quite a while.

Treaty Talks With Lithuania End With Success

LD2202154994 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1500 GMT 22 Feb 94

[Text] The text of the Polish-Lithuanian treaty has been agreed upon. The fifth round of negotiations, which started in Warsaw this morning, has ended with success. The text is to be initialed by the ministers of foreign affairs of Poland and Lithuania.

IMF Mission Head Interviewed on Agreement

WS2202120094 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 22 Feb 94 pp 1, 7

[Interview with IMF Mission Chief Michael Deppler, by Danuta Walewska; place and date not given: "Poland Met IMF Criteria; Open Road to Debt Reduction"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Walewska] Will Poland be in a position to obtain a new standby [preceding word in English] agreement? Doubts have emerged whether we

will be able to meet the requirements that are necessary to achieve such a new agreement.

[Deppler] If someone doubts this, he has bad information. The 1994 budget is a basis for a good economic plan. However, there is more to it than merely the government's economic policy. Its preparation must take some time. Nonetheless, I do not think this should last long. I believe that there is a 100-percent probability that I will return to Warsaw within two months and we will negotiate another standby agreement. The International Monetary Fund [IMF] cooperated with all the Polish governments after the democratic transformation started and it intends to continue to cooperate with them.

[Walewska] Thus it is still possible to negotiate a standby agreement for 1994?

[Deppler] Absolutely.

[Walewska] Still, you hoped to negotiate this agreement during this stay in Poland, did you not?

[Deppler] Yes, we hoped to do this indeed, but the government came to the conclusion that it needed more time to define some details of the economic plan; we had to respect this. It must be remembered, however, that the negotiations with the Paris Club and the second tranche of the reduction of the debt toward governments (31 March) was for us a deadline that we could not miss. Now, the part of the mission that had to deal with preparing all the documents which had to be submitted to the Paris Club was forced to leave Warsaw last weekend—if it wanted to get there in time. The government was busy working on the budget and it did not really have the time to handle any other economic issues. Therefore, for purely practical reasons it was not possible to reach the agreement.

[Walewska] Then what else must be prepared so that the negotiations for the next standby agreement can be started?

[Deppler] We must take a good look at the reforms and the plans for implementing them in the future. I would not like to go into details now because it is a matter of mutual trust between the government and IMF. It does not allow me to reveal the details. However, there are still many important matters that the government has only just begun to work on. I also know that this work is supposed to be expedited; when everything is ready, we will return to Warsaw.

[Walewska] However, is it already known what goals the government has set for privatization, what the money supply is supposed to be, and how inflation is going to be controlled?

[Deppler] The financial aspects of the 1994 program are absolutely acceptable. The policy of the National Bank of Poland is clear. In the medium-term strategy we agreed that Poland will maintain the growth rate and that inflation will be limited. Nevertheless, there still remains the question of what should be done to implement these goals? This brings up the issue of the government's expenditures. What will have to be done if the budget's revenues are smaller. We also stressed in the talks with the prime minister that state enterprises should be a more significant source of the economic growth. Thus, there is quite considerable agreement concerning the future economic program as well as the means by which this should be achieved. These are very complex problems; both we and the government simply need more time to be able to explain everything to each other.

[Walewska] What risk can you see in the budget itself?

[Deppler] In line with our estimates, the 1994 budget is realistic. It is possible that the economy may turn out to be weaker; however, this is a rather remote possibility. We believe that the forecasts of a 4.5-percent economic growth are very real. We cannot see any dangers in what is currently going on in the economy, even though we are alarmed at the recent price and wage increase.

[Walewska] How about the methods of financing the budget deficit?

[Deppler] This was a problem of last year. The key issue here will be the creation of the conditions that will allow the people to believe in the value of the zloty. Therefore, the government should have fewer problems financing the deficit by means of the Treasury bonds.

[Walewska] However, there were already problems related to the sale of those bonds last year. Do you think that this is going to be easier this year?

[Deppler] One cannot be certain about anything in Poland. We must remember, however, that the situation was special last year; there were also constant fears of devaluating the zloty. I hope that this year's solutions will encourage people to buy the bonds.

[Walewska] The criteria, which are usually set by IMF, are, in the case of Poland, always similar: inflation, the size of the budget deficit, domestic debt. Is there anything else that draws special attention of the IMF? I have not yet heard you speak about privatization.

[Deppler] IMF has always been interested in the reforms. Last year we discussed the packet of structural reforms—the Mass Privatization Program, the Pact on State Enterprise, social protection. We always think about what the government is doing to encourage the people to participate in the reforms and to finish the transformation of the economy. As for this government, we trust that we will reach agreement in all these issues.

[Walewska] Is there not a possibility for Poland to be able to negotiate a "better" agreement with IMF, the extended facility [preceding word in English], which is considered to be the next step after the standby?

[Deppler] We have not signed such an agreement with any Central and East European states; we believe that the annual standby is more profitable for states that are

transforming their economies; it is better if the implementation of the criteria is reviewed every six months. This extended facility that you have talked about, was the only agreement that was not a success.

[Walewska] What was your greatest disappointment during this mission: the fact that the finance minister was not present at the negotiation table, or the fact that we did not satisfy the conditions for negotiating the agreement as IMF had expected us to?

[Deppler] We have made considerable progress and worked out a solid foundation for a new agreement. At any rate, now I am much more convinced than I was when I arrived in Warsaw.

Presidential Aide on Walesa-Parliament Dispute

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[Interview with Lech Falandysz, minister of state in the Polish President's Office, by Krzysztof Skowronski at the Radio Zet studio in Warsaw on the "Guest of Radio Zet" program—live]

[Text] [Skowronski] Radio Zet's guest today is Professor Lech Falandysz, minister of state in the President's Office. Good evening.

[Falandysz] Good evening to you [addressing Skowronski], and to you, Ladies and Gentlemen.

[Skowronski] What will be the consequences of the parliament's rejection today of the president's constitutional initiative?

[Falandysz] It would be hard to predict all the consequences, but it is not true what Sejm Speaker Oleksy says when he talks about rejection of initiatives being a routine type of measure by the parliament, and that it happens often. The truth is that as far as I can recall, it has never happened that a presidential initiative would have been rejected. The point is that a presidential initiative comes from an organ of state power which is elected in popular elections, so it is not just an ordinary legislative initiative but quite a special one. Naturally, the rejection....[Falandysz pauses] The parliament and the majority there can do anything it wants to that is completely legal, except that, in my view, it is quite incomprehensible and also unreasonable, and quite arrogant, when you think about it. That is because I cannot think of a reason for having done such a thing—that in effect amounted to prohibiting the president from joining the debate on what he had proposed. After all, the situation was that the debate was cut off and the initiative was not forwarded to the appropriate Sejm commission. So by doing this, the parliamentary majority demonstrated it does not want to conduct a dialogue with the president on constitutional issues—and that is exactly what is painful.

[Skowronski] And what will be the consequences of that?

[Falandysz] Well [words indistinct]

[Skowronski, interrupting] What kind of conclusions will the president draw from that?

[Falandysz] What I think is that questions must be asked about the future of the president's cooperation with the National Assembly's Constitutional Commission, if constitutional issues are what we are talking about here. Well, it so happened that yesterday, Sejm Deputy Jaskiernia very strongly emphasized that the president will be coresponsible for the Constitution since, after all, he is participating in designing the document. Well, the point is he does not have to participate. Of course, the president has not made a decision on that yet, but he is empowered to discontinue his participation in the Assembly's Constitutional Commission; he can withdraw his representative there—that is myself. I will then have less work to do. He is also empowered not to put forward any initiative or to withdraw the one he had submitted....

[Skowronski, interrupting] And what will that mean in turn? I mean what if the president decides to withdraw your participation from the proceedings of the....

[Falandysz, interrupting] Well, that will mean that the constitution will be designed without the president's participation. Perhaps Mr. Kwasniewski will be happy with that, and perhaps he will say: Who needs the president anyway? At least nobody will get in our way. We will manage without him.

But that will be a significant event. I think the president is fully empowered to act this way because the Sejm acted in quite a determinant way—let me put it this way—and they refused to talk to him. And with the Sejm additionally not making it easier to submit other extraparliamentary initiatives. By the way, both Mr. Oleksy and Mr. Kwasniewski had said that as far as constitutional issues are concerned, there should be compromise, national consensus, and joint work. Forgive me, but how is one supposed to view today's decision by the Sejm in the light of those declarations?

[Skowronski] Yes, but it so happens that Sejm Speaker Oleksy and Aleksander Kwasniewski voted in favor. How did it happen that the leaders voted in favor whereas all the other Sejm deputies for the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] voted against?

[Falandysz] You know, I do not know why. That is their secret. You should ask them first of all. They are bound to know what happened.

[Skowronski] But it was a strange situation.

[Falandysz] Well, if you allow me to speculate a bit here—I am not saying that this is what really happened—there are just two possibilities: Either the gentlemen, all the SLD leaders—I mean the elites, the deputies club's leaders, there is a whole elite there—voted in favor of the president, which would be very nice. The only problem is that either the elites' views are

different than the rest of the deputies club, or its big majority, and that is of course a bad thing to happen since it means they have no control over the deputies club. The other possibility is that they have conspired in a cunning and Machiavellian way, along the lines of: Gentlemen, it wouldn't look good if we were to vote against, so we will vote in favor, but you, gentlemen, should vote against and this way we will save face and it will look like we of course love the president.

Except that is not only a fraud, but it is also a kind of cowardly behavior since one is afraid to declare one's views publicly. So either way, there is a pathology involved in this.

[Skowronski] Does today's vote and the rejection [of the president's initiative] mean a substantially new situation on the political scene?

[Falandysz] I do not think so. As I said, the president will think about whether to cooperate with the Constitutional Commission. It is an open question as to how the other parties will act—I mean the parties outside of the circles of the governing coalition or the Union of Labor [UP], I mean those parties whose votes indicated that they were kind of willing to support the president's initiative. Despite their criticism—the Democratic Union [UD] is especially characteristic in that regard—they were all very critical but they were all almost unanimously in favor of at least debating the initiative and of sending it to the appropriate Sejm commission. After all, that would not amount to enacting it into law. One must also consider whether these parties should also [hesitating] not do some thinking about their role in the drafting of the constitution since the role is indeed marginal. The parties are dominated by a huge majority, so their coauthorship is nonexistent. In that sense, this may bring about some additional consequences.

[Skowronski] Perhaps we should try to explain what the president's initiative was all about.

[Falandysz] In essence, the initiative was quite straightforward. It was initiated with the idea in mind that under the concept of direct democracy, the president will have his contribution. Well, it is not the president but UP that began tinkering with a law on the procedures for enacting and preparing a constitution, which had been enacted some time in the past. They also proposed a preconstitutional referendum. The president said: All right, a referendum is a form of direct democracy, but there is another form as well, which is less well known and applied less frequently; it is called Citizens' Legislative Initiative; in this case it would apply to the constitution. According to the initiative, a group of 100,000 citizens—it could be bigger than that, it does not matter, but it would have to be some organized centers outside of the parliament—could submit their constitutional drafts to the Sejm commission and they would have their representative on the commission whose rights would be the same as those of the president's, the government's, or the Constitutional Tribunal's representatives. To my amazement, yesterday everyone said of that initiative: Of course, we are in favor of democracy, and so forth. But what they did not like a lot was the second ....

[Skowronski, interrupting] You mean item number two [words indistinct]

[Falandysz] Exactly. Of course, that is also a debatable issue. But the debate was cut off extremely quickly, as if they were afraid to continue with it. Namely, the president used to say: Under a situation where [hesitating] it is the parliament that is kind of responsible for the constitution—or to be more exact, the significant constitutional majority in the parliament, since it is only they that enact a constitution—then in that case, if the referendum's outcome is negative for them, then they should be dissolved by force of law. Of course, that situation [of the Sejm's dissolution] may happen anyway, because if the Constitutional Commission and the governing coalition are left completely on their own with the constitution, that is if the others decide to leave, and if they lead to a referendum, which, it is true, would be a very good referendum from their standpoint since-....[Falandysz pauses] Perhaps they will get rid of referenda now, I do not know. So even if they lose the referendum, that would not mean anything to them, they will be able to continue with the proceedings as if nothing happened: We lost a referendum and so what?

A constitution is the basis for all laws, it is a country's fundamental law. And if the Sejm is not capable of [hesitating] recommending—let me put it this way—such a law to the nation, then I have no idea how the Sejm should be capable of enacting laws of lesser importance. It is a very comfortable situation [for the Sejm majority] since most probably, the goal is to survive [hesitating] for four years at any cost. Four years is the magical number in this case.

[Skowronski] Yesterday, the president visited the parliament to take part in the constitutional debate. He had not been there for three months, I think. Was that the president's last visit to the parliament?

[Falandysz] You know, it would be hard to say no, at least under that kind of situation [laughing]. As you know, I have no intention of making jokes on this, of course. There are history books where one can read about that. But as far as the [hesitating] normal type of situation is concerned, I mean when a president comes to visit a friendly parliament. By the way, Speaker Oleksy gave the president a very warm reception there and he said: As you can see, Mr. President, we decided to deal with all of your initiatives as absolute priorities. We are very much in a hurry.

[Skowronski] We are dealing with them, and then they go to the waste basket?

[Falandysz] Exactly. So that is interesting, and Mr. Oleksy no longer smiled at today's press conference. It is not a good situation because there are signs that our

prominent SLD leaders are kind of losing touch; they seem to have such a good presence and be so European, but it does not quite work for them.

[Skowronski] What do you mean when you say the SLD leaders are losing touch?

[Falandysz] You know, I would put it this way: Mr. Kwasniewski for instance seems to think that the internal coalition agreements are more important than the president's constitutional powers. He often says: The coalition decided on this, or that, and the president is supposed to follow what the coalition has decided. My question is: How on earth did he figure that out?

You know why I am amazed? Because this is an example of the old Marxist thesis on the supremacy of politics over law. Kwasniewski learned about that at some point, and he continues to have it in his mind, to the effect that once the coalition decided something, that is the way it has to be. But I am saying: That was the situation under the Polish People's Republic [PRL].

As regards the Sejm's role, the situation in the times of PRL was that the Sejm was the organ of supreme authority, and that provision was included in the Constitution. Now Sejm Speaker Oleksy seems to be beginning to believe that he is the organ of supreme authority. My answer is: There is no such thing as the organ of supreme authority. We have a division of powers in effect in Poland; there are three kinds of powers and one must gradually get used to that. I hope this is just a temporary forgetfulness on his part.

[Skowronski] And what if it is not?

[Falandysz] If it is not, then I suppose the education process would have to be extended. After all, we are all learning democracy. I am not saying that I or anybody like me already knows everything there is to know about democracy. Of course, people make mistakes, but you know, when an individual makes a mistake, even if he is the president, that is very human because an individual is entitled to make a mistake. But when you have the case of a body of people making mistakes and acting like [hesitating] someone malicious or envious, that is a bad thing to happen, I mean when a majority makes unreasonable decisions. I remember that in the period of martial law, I think it was Professor Lopatka [a male] who was running around the Sejm saying: The Sejm can do anything, it can even pass a law which would say that I am a female. Now what I say is: Of course it can do that, but it would make no sense at all. The Sejm is empowered to reject a presidential initiative and that is a legal thing to do, except that it makes no sense at all.

[Skowronski] How will one live in a country where the president has disputes with the parliament? The president will fail to show up in the parliament and all the governing coalition will think about is how to eliminate him.

[Falandysz] You know, there is nothing bad about it. There is a rule in effect in many democracies, that the president does not enter the parliament at all and does not pay visits there. In Poland, under some remnants of the previous system, the president used to pay visits to the parliament, and he even enjoyed it and felt comfortable. But after the most recent incident, I think he will not enjoy it as much. But let us not overreact when it comes to having disputes. In my view, these are the usual symptoms of political competition.

You know, here is how I would reflect on this: Perhaps this [hesitating] whole sudden measure by the Sejm-....[Falandysz pauses] What did it prevent, for instance? Well, it prevented, for instance, the National Commission of Solidarity—which had established an alternative constitutional commission of its own—from taking a serious measure. The trade union can easily gather 500,000 signatures under a constitutional draft, if the draft is of a specified, easily propagatable nature. I do not suppose that was the goal, but there will be more political events in Poland in that regard, and unfortunately one must remember that President Walesa is not any kind of friend either to Mr. Oleksy, or to Mr. Kwasniewski, or to the people associated with the two of them. Historically speaking, they were always on opposite sides, and right now it is precisely that group which makes all that happen. I mean the people who feel very self-confident because of their gigantic majority.

[Skowronski] So are you saying the old divisions are coming back now? Or are these old divisions under new labels?

[Falandysz] I do not know that. I think that it just so happens in life that people who used to be in power, want to be back in power. I am not saying that....[Falandysz pauses] You know, I do not use terms like postcommunists or communists—these are misleading labels. But the fact is that they want to be back in power under a different situation, and they are fully entitled to that, since we are in a democracy. But if it is their plan for instance to [hesitating] eliminate President Walesa—I mean eliminate in legal and constitutional terms—then to be honest, that is not a nice intention to have.

[Skowronski] Do you think such an idea has emerged?

[Falandysz] I do not know that. You would have to ask those gentlemen who keep smiling. But of course, they will not tell you. They will smile and say: But Mr. President, that is absolutely not true; we would do anything for you. But they do something different behind his back. That unfortunately is also a certain trait that is inherent in politics. We will see as time goes by—perhaps there will be better times.

[Skowronski] Today, Aleksander Kwasniewski said, in the aftermath of statements by [presidential spokesman] Drzycimski, or by the president, that things are no longer merry and funny, they are scary now. What is the scary part about, according to Aleksander Kwasniewski?

[Falandysz] I do not know; you must ask him about that, too. I do not know what he got scared of. Perhaps he got scared of his own courage and of the discipline in his own deputies club? I just do not know.

[Skowronski] We will talk about all that during the breakfast show. Mr. Aleksander Kwasniewski will be here, and also you [addressing Falandysz] will be here, so we will have a chance to talk about all that.

[Falandysz] I hope so.

[Skowronski] So we will talk about that at more length, and right now, I thank you for the conversation.

[Falandysz] Thank you very much.

[Skowronski] Radio Zet's guest today has been Professor Lech Falandysz, minister of state in the President's Office.

Foreign Minister Outlines 'East Policy'

WS1802191594 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Feb 94 p 21

[Article by Polish Foreign Minister Andrzej Olechowski: "Polish East Policy; We Want Warmer Relations With Russia"]

[Text] *We want to open a new chapter in Poland's East policy. This requirement results from both the changes that have taken place in the area of the former USSR and the changes in our relations with the Russian Federation.*

The main subject of the policy that has been carried out so far was the rapid establishment of equal relations with the 15 newly independent states. The activity of Poland focused on:

—establishing diplomatic and treaty relations with them;

—creating foundations for regular political dialogue by establishing contacts at various levels;

—taking steps aimed at the withdrawal of former Soviet troops from Poland;

—concluding economic agreements;

—fostering processes of democratization and the building of a market economy;

—explaining the responsibility of the repression apparatus of the former USSR for crimes committed against Poles, and for deportations;

—protecting the sites of the martyrdom of Poles and monuments of Polish culture.

We have made considerable progress in these areas by creating the foundations for an East policy of the fully sovereign Republic of Poland.

The tasks of the East policy.

We are currently facing new challenges and new possibilities. To measure up to them, we must focus our East policy on the following three tasks:

First, we seek to develop comprehensive and good relations with those states which are of particular importance from the point of view of our political interests, as well as the interests of security and economy. The necessity of making a choice here also results from the fact that we have only limited resources at our disposal. For obvious reasons, priorities include, first of all, the neighboring states; the entire group of states, in which we are particularly interested, consists of the following: Russia, Belarus, the Baltic states, Kazakhstan, and Moldova.

Russia and Ukraine occupy a special place due to their economic potential, as well as their political and military significance: the development of our relations with these states will spell either the success or failure of our policy.

The second task is backing up political and military stability in the region. Since the threats are of a regional character, that is, they do not pertain exclusively to Poland, our policy should be as synchronized as is possible with the policies of our western, northern, and southern neighbors. As much as possible, Poland should be the initiator and an active participant in joint activities; it should take on the role of a regional "stability exporter." It is authorized and obliged to do this by the maturity—outstanding in the region—of democratic establishments, economic dynamism, and respect for civil rights.

Third, we aim to create new possibilities for taking advantage of economic opportunities. This task must be approached realistically, which means that we must see that the changes which are taking place in the area of the former USSR are resulting in new possibilities and opportunities for Poland; however, dangers are still prevalent today. In addition, if we want to be able to take advantage of the chances to make a profit in the future, we must take certain steps and pay some costs today.

Bilateral Political Relations

Poland treats all of its neighbors to the east, as well as other countries, as fully independent and sovereign states. It is in our vital interest to see them strengthen their national identity as well as their democratic and promarket transformations. This does not mean, however, that we will be against any close relations among those states, unless their establishment is accompanied by violence, dictate, or the violation of democratic procedures, we treat them as natural processes which are in accordance with the international legal order.

We want a substantially warmer climate in our relations with Russia. We will intensify and extend the scope of diplomatic consultations in bilateral and international issues, including those concerning security and disarmament. We are ready for intense contacts at the level of

governments and parliaments; we will also create possibilities for frequent regular extragovernmental contacts. We seek to broaden the scope of the exchange of information and experience, especially in the area of local democracy and individual agriculture. We intend to propose a joint international initiative which will aim at coordinating the fight against organized crime. In the international arena, we would like to be of assistance in regulating the status of Russian minorities in line with European standards. We will support the membership of Russia, as well as other states of the former USSR, in the Council of Europe after they accept the formal conditions. We hope that the Russian Federation will participate in the "Partnership for Peace" initiative. This will enable us to intensify our dialogue on military issues and to take the initiative in multilateral practice and training with the participation of Russia, the states of the region, and NATO members.

The "lower" border of the policy of openness and friendliness in the relations with Russia is respect for the fundamental strategic option of Polish foreign policy, which is participation in three Western establishments: the European Union [EU], NATO, and the Western European Union [WEU].

In our relations with Ukraine we will take similar steps as in the case of Russia: steps aimed at extending the comprehensive neighborly cooperation. Their special dimension will be the establishment of Polish cultural agencies in Kiev and Lvov, as well as the building of milieus friendly to Poland around them.

However, the fundamental issue in our political relations is obviously the issue of Ukraine's independence, which presents a strategic dimension for Poland. The recently concluded trilateral agreement among Ukraine, Russia, and the United States is favorable for the consolidation of this independence. On the one hand, we will encourage Ukraine to implement this agreement fully; we will also want more vigorous political and economic forms; on the other hand, we will take action to help this state achieve a deserved position in international politics, a position that would better correspond to its potential. In particular, we would like one of the agencies of the CSCE to be relocated to Kiev; we would like Ukraine to be included to the projects that are implemented within the framework of the Central European Initiative; we would also like dialogue on some elements of the Kravchuk plan [not further identified]. We also expect intensive military-political cooperation in the "Partnership for Peace" with Ukraine.

We are especially alarmed by the statements concerning "particular interests" and a "special role" for Russia in Ukraine. We do not accept them and we believe deeply that Ukraine's independence is in the long run favorable for the development of democracy and economy in Russia as well.

In our political relations with the Baltic states, a special position will be reserved for activities underscoring the independent existence of these states in the international arena and supporting the process of gradually including them in European structures. We expect that very soon the Polish-Lithuanian treaty will finally be concluded. It will provide foundations for a rapid development of comprehensive relations, especially in the area of economic ties. We will pay special attention to the issue of national minorities, including the issue of the Polish minority in Lithuania. It is worth recalling that Poland supports the idea of civil integration of ethnic minorities, where cultural and lingual autonomy would be maintained. We do not support political-economic autonomy, but we agree that the rights of minorities should be respected in line with the standards of CSCE and the EU. Any act violating these minimum standards will meet with our forceful response. Similarly, demands going beyond these standards will not receive our support or our friendly attitude.

In the development of good-neighborly relations with Belarus, we want to place emphasis on long-term activities—first of all on economic and cultural activities. The example of the latter is the opening of a diplomatic mission in Minsk. In the case of Kazakhstan, diplomatic activities will be focused on creating a positive image of Poland as a friendly state. The main subject of the consular activities of the embassy, which is being set up there, is obviously the large Polish community. Finally, in the case of Moldova, where we are also opening a diplomatic post, our political cooperation will chiefly be of a multilateral dimension; our promising economic contacts will be extended.

Activities for the Stability of the Region

The most important task that helps enhance stability in the region is active contribution toward the building of all-European security. Good relations with our neighbors to the east are undoubtedly an important and joint contribution as well.

Poland definitely supports the progressive process of combining East and West into one whole. This process, however, does not include and cannot include liquidating the forms of cooperation that have been present so far, departing from the fully shaped and freely implemented methods of cooperation, abandoning the ambition to take part in the ones which seem to be particularly close.

This process does envision, however, the tightening of cooperation among states and establishments, as well as increasingly closer cooperation based on the principle of the indivisibility of European security. In this process, there is a role to be played by NATO, the EU, the WEU, the Council of Europe, and the CSCE. An important place should also be occupied by the CIS, if it opens up to cooperation with other structures and, just like them, it is based on democratic foundations and values.

We all want an efficient, all-European security system. But it will not appear all of a sudden like some magical illusion. It will be the result of common efforts and of an

evolution taking place in and among existing structures. We are watching attentively the changes that are under way. The establishment of NATO's North Atlantic Cooperation Council, as well as the establishment of the WEU Consultative Forum, "Partnership for Peace," and the prospect of widening these structures—these are very important steps. They are not about forming new divisions but about overcoming the old ones. Through our participation in the "Partnership for Peace" we not only strive for membership in NATO, but we also want to use this frameworks for cooperation with Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Lithuania for the sake of a common strengthening of security.

Intensifying regional dialogue on security issues is also desirable. Part of that dialogue is in the form of consultations, not just within the framework of European and Euro-Atlantic structures, but also within regional ones, such as the Visegrad Group or the Council of Baltic States. Possibilities are emerging for setting in motion a mechanism of regular, multilateral consultations with the participation of the states of East and Central Europe which are particularly sensitive to issues of regional security (such is the intention of, for example, the consultations among planners from eight countries of the region which are currently taking place, including, among others, representatives of Germany, Austria, and Sweden). We are very thoroughly examining initiatives and proposals relating to our region's security, including plans by Balladur and Krawczuk.

Any constructive regional cooperation is a significant factor for strengthening security and stability. Cooperation among the Visegrad Group countries is an example of this kind of cooperation, in particular the free-trade zone (CEFTA) [Central European Free Trade Association]. That cooperation, while being a clear example of understanding and cooperation among countries going through a period of transformations, is an example for other countries to follow in terms of how to achieve European integration.

Bilateral relations obviously contribute greatly to increasing regional security and cooperation. The partnership between Poland and Ukraine, which is still taking shape, provides good evidence of that. The two countries have a difficult history of mutual relations, but thanks to imagination and political will, they managed to overcome the rankling resentments and claims.

Economic Cooperation

Eastern markets are oftentimes portrayed as untapped, mainly because of a not very active foreign policy geared in only one direction. While agreeing with the accusation of insufficient activity, one should at the same time state very clearly, that a systematic analysis leads to a conclusion that what prevails in those markets today, is a risk of loss and not a possibility of profit. One should also very clearly state that the political and systemwide changes indeed created some big opportunities for significant and permanent benefits, but they cannot be implemented soon and without significant investments. One should also state very clearly that Polish enterprises, both private and state-owned, will not be able to use this potential without significant assistance from the state.

The most important dangers linked to the systemwide transformations and to the uncertain future of the countries of the former Soviet Union, include: A possibility of using economic cooperation and commercial exchange for political goals; destabilization (intended or unintended) of supplies of raw materials; unfair competition in Poland and in third markets; systemwide incompatibility and instrumental treatment of the law; disorganization and mafia activity; and the destabilization of Polish financial institutions in case of over involvement in transactions with the East. Perceiving Poland as a country in an unstable region is also a special kind of danger. That danger is not linked with Poland's bilateral relations with the countries of the region, but it may be a consequence of political and economic instability in the individual countries, or of conflicts between them.

On the other hand, the most important opportunities which have opened up at this time in front of Polish entrepreneurs, include: establishment of foundations for a significant and permanent capital-related position; achievement of a permanent position in certain merchandise markets; potentially large demand for transit services and for mediation in transactions between Eastern and Western companies; signing of contracts for significant supplies by state-owned partners; and, finally, the possibility of importing services, merchandise, and technologies at prices which are lower than on the world market.

The "Fundamentals of Pro-Export Policies," which were recently adopted by the government, as well as the listing of financial resources for that goal in the draft budget for 1994, mean better possibilities of support by the state for Polish economic activity in the East. The forms and extent of that support are still too modest to efficiently enable use of opportunities and counteraction of dangers. That is why I intend to suggest to the government that it implement four programs which will comprise urgently needed measures. We named these programs: "Contact," "Associates," "Wokulski," and "Transit."

"Contact" comprises measures supporting contact among people at all levels and in all aspects, among others making border crossings more efficient and enlarging them. "Associates" is a program of measures aimed at establishing mutual capital relations which would render economic cooperation more permanent. "Wokulski" is a program of measures which will support Polish exporters of merchandise and services. Finally, the "Transit" program covers measures aimed at improving and enlarging the infrastructure which would make it possible to profit from Poland's geographical location. A fifth program, which we would like to implement, is named "Market and Democracy" and it will cover both governmental and extragovernmental drafts

supporting the development of market and democracy in the countries covered by East policies.

Specific measures within these programs which have already been identified, will be subjected to interministry consultations followed by their presentation in front of the Council of Ministers. Their implementation does not require significant additional financial resources this year.

Coordination of East Policies

Most of the tasks being planned within the framework of East policies, will be performed by Polish diplomats. In particular, we will submit several international proposals over the next few months, such as an East European Commercial Initiative, a Consultative Committee for Democratic Transformations and Market Reforms, an Association for Prevention of Organized Crime, an international data bank on investment possibilities, a draft for a trilateral institute of Polish-Ukrainian-Belarusian culture, and the establishment of an informal forum for regular meetings among leaders and political elites of East and Central European countries. We will also undertake many bilateral initiatives. We are in the process of widening the network of our agencies in the East. With regard to diplomats, both in the headquarters and in their missions, we must prepare them better for the implementation of tasks envisaged by the programs.

We must also coordinate our measures better and more efficiently, both within the Foreign Affairs Ministry and in the entire administration. With that goal in mind, I will establish in the near future the post of plenipotentiary for East policies within the Foreign Affairs Ministry; he will exercise supervision over subsequent work on the programs and their implementation. In terms of the state as a whole, to minimize the syndrome of "ministry policies," which is unfortunately so common in Poland, I will propose before the government the establishment of an East Policy Council, the goal of which would be: Consultation of proposals for resolving specific issues, exercise of operative supervision over the implementation of initiatives and programs, and consultation on ways of financing programs while using the resources which are spread over various institutions. Apart from the Foreign Affairs Ministry, the council should also include representatives of the President's Office, the Office of the Council of Ministers, the Foreign Economic Cooperation Ministry, and other institutions.

Danger

I think that Poland's activity vis-a-vis its Eastern neighbors defined and organized this way, will serve the interests of Poland, its neighbors, and the entire region well and efficiently. We want to implement the activity with enthusiasm and openness. But for the policy to bring about the desired results, we must encounter a similar enthusiasm and openness on the part of our partners.

We have no reason to doubt their good intentions; we can feel they have a lot of cordiality and a will to undertake joint measures. We all feel that, as my Russian colleague Minister Andrey Kozyrev said on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of Poland's independence , right now we have an "historic chance to build genuinely friendly relations, without anybody dictating, without paternalism, without ideological patterns and false embraces."

Nations which differ between them and which respect the differences, are still friendly toward one another; if there were no differences between them, then they would merge into just one nation, and if they did not respect the differences, then they would be enemies. Poles differ from their neighbors. Our neighbors differ among themselves. We can see those differences, we respect and appreciate them. Our culture and identity have used them for ages. We are ready to become friends.

This idea could be endangered by an intolerance by one of the countries. We can see signs of such intolerance in Russia. We are afraid of intolerance. Right now, it is the biggest danger to the development of friendly ties in our region.

The Russian Federation is today a superpower going through transformations which is not capable of completely meeting or efficiently protecting some global ambitions which had been aroused in the past. That facilitates the emergence of the "besieged fortress" syndrome, which is a result of the reluctance of part of the political and military elites to change traditional ways of thinking and acting, the reference point of which is Russia as an empire. Consequently, the concept of a strong superpower, which Russia is and will be, becomes synonymous with the idea of neoimperialism. That is why the neoimperial direction in Russian foreign policy must be regarded as a real danger.

On the other hand, one would have to have bad faith not to see the positive changes in Russia and the progress in that country's hard but consistent path toward democracy, a market, and the people's prosperity. We believe that, just like other nations, Russians are aware that building a power and an empire has high costs, and that it is taking place at the expense of their personal poverty. They will not allow for politicians to return permanently to past goals and slogans. They demonstrated that during the most recent elections, in which only a minority expressed support for the imperial slogans of nationalistic groups.

It is that minority that we fear. But we are optimistic. We believe in the majority: Our Russian friends, Russian democrats.

Foreign Minister's 'East Policies' Senate Speech

WS2102152394 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Feb 94 p 21

[Untitled commentary by Ryszard Malik]

[Text] After taking up the post of Polish diplomacy chief, Andrzej Olechowski had not yet had an opportunity to present a set of principles on which Poland's East policies are based. This kind of opportunity presented itself with an invitation issued by the Senate Foreign Affairs Commission where Minister Olechowski spoke Thursday [17 February].

His speech was very concrete. The minister, who has been talking from the beginning about a need for close cooperation between politics and economics, outlined five programs for specific cooperation with the countries from beyond our Eastern border:

—"Contact" is a program that is designed to support the development of human contacts, broadly speaking—individual, interparliamentary, intergovernmental, interministerial, and cultural contacts;

—"Associates" is a program of measures aimed at establishing mutual, capital-related associations which would strengthen economic cooperation;

—"Wokulski" is a program designed to support Polish exporters of merchandise and services;

—"Transit" is a program of measures for improving and widening the infrastructure which would make it possible to profit from Poland's beneficial geographical location;

—"Market and Democracy" is a program designed to cover governmental and extra-governmental projects which will support the development of market and democracy.

Polish East policies are without a doubt a continuation of the policies of postcommunist governments. But since 1989, so much has been happening beyond our Eastern border, that a straightforward continuation of the policies applied up to now is not possible. Besides, it turned out that while Poland has a vision of a policy regarding its own security and that of the region, Russia has no such vision. At least that was the impression made after the "whole confusion" linked with President Boris Yeltsin's Warsaw statement regarding our membership in NATO.

We will be able to find out soon what kind of policy Russia really wants to conduct vis-a-vis Poland and East and Central Europe. The Russian foreign minister will talk about that in Krakow next week—he has been invited to a Polish-Russian conference called "In the Direction of a New Partnership," which is being organized by the International Center for the Development of Democracy.

Peasant Party Sejm Deputy Krol Interviewed

PM2202131794 Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 7 Feb 94 p 3

[Interview with Sejm Deputy Marian Krol, Polish Peasant Party activist, by correspondent Leszek Luczak; place and date not given]

[Text] [Luczak] Was Waldemar Pawlak right to recall Vice Minister Stefan Kawalec from his post?

[Krol] The prime minister's decision was correct. Vice Minister Kawalec was largely responsible for the fact that certain reforms in Poland were not carried out as they should have been—for example, the reform of the insurance and banking systems, and, of course, privatization. Polish Peasant Party [PSL] and Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] voters expected to see dynamic changes: They hoped that all the factors leading to pathological changes in our economic life would be firmly and energetically identified and eliminated. Unfortunately, they suffered bitter and rather extensive disappointment, and now they view the apparent continuation of the damage done by the previous teams with mounting irritation. For example, privatization of the Wielkopolski Bank Kredytowy [Wielkopolski Credit Bank, WBK] has demonstrated clearly that not all solutions are equally acceptable. The bank's share prices were artificially depressed when they were offered for sale on the Stock Exchange, and as a result they rose considerably more than tenfold in a very short time. Those who profited most from this operation were the Western strategic investor and the WBK's own employees, especially its management cadre, who had been offered the opportunity to buy many more shares, and on vastly more preferential terms, than ordinary outside investors. It was not through their own work aimed at improving the WBK financial situation but through an unearned privilege that those people became very wealthy virtually from one day to the next. And now we have just seen the same maneuver being applied, under the rule of, of all things, a left-wing government team, in the privatization of the Bank Slaski [Silesian Bank]. Forgive me, but we must neither condone nor permit such practices.

[Luczak] I understand you are making your statement in the interest of so-called social justice?

[Krol] Precisely. We do not interpret that social justice, of which you speak with ever so slight irony, as the principle of distributing goods to everyone on a rigidly equal basis. We believe that the differentiation of material circumstances within society is a perfectly natural thing. We support development of the free market economy, privatization, and reprivatization. However, the differences we have just mentioned should be first and foremost the result of the hard work, enterprise, inventiveness, and talent shown by people, rather than administrative decisions which give tremendous material advantages to some while forcing others downward into even greater poverty. Even in the capitalist system we should observe certain principles of social justice and fair play. Both the past and present history of Western states can show us clearly what happens when these principles are violated. Social peace in every country and in every sociopolitical system is based on general public acceptance of a certain minimum of rules and solutions. The reserves of such acceptance are dwindling very fast in Poland now, and that is precisely why we have been calling for changes. To go back to the Bank Slaski affair,

I believe that all the circumstances of its privatization should be very thoroughly clarified in the public interest.

[Luczak] Recent opinion poll findings demonstrate clearly and unequivocally that the public, in particular the left-voting electorate, is not prepared to approve privatization of state enterprises. Consequently, you should put a stop to the privatization process at once.

[Krol] No, we should not. We understand that privatization is vitally necessary. The antiprivatization stance of our voters is not the result of any ideological considerations but the conclusion drawn from observation of the consequences of the privatization process as it has been executed to date. The ordinary man in the street notes very well how some become very wealthy in the process, through being able to buy our public assets not because they like the offer and have the money but because they can pull strings, have access to those in charge of the operations, or know how to push and shove. Such people end up grabbing all kinds of preferential chances not accessible to others. Then your ordinary man in the street is bound to draw the wrong conclusion: Privatization is something evil. That is why, in order to defend the case for privatization, we must restore it to health. There is no justification for repeating old mistakes over and over again.

For example, I valued highly the professional expertise shown by the former minister of ownership transformations Janusz Lewandowski, and I appreciated the very hard work he did for the cause of privatization in Poland. Many of his errors and mistakes could be explained by the fact that he was a pioneer in that field, and a liberal in his economic thinking. However, by now we have gained much more experience in privatization, and if ministers from our current ruling government coalition persist in continuing the same mistakes, we can only attribute them to ill will. And that, among other things, was probabaly why it was necessary to recall Kawalec.

[Luczak] Was it also because Kawalec refused to approve the project of pouring central capital into the Food Economy Bank [BGZ], which is, after all, associated with the PSL?

[Krol] The PSL does not own the BGZ. The BGZ is one of Poland's largest banks offering financial services to the rural sector. Admittedly, it has financial problems, but who has caused them? Not the bank itself but the policies pursued by the previous governments. They dismantled the system of state farms for political reasons, but they did so in a way which destroyed the viability of those large farms. And the state farms were, after all, the BGZ's main borrowers, so inevitably their financial troubles were bound to hurt the bank. State banks have received 10 trillion zlotys [Z] for so-called restructuring, which in practical terms was tantamount to assistance in covering their losses resulting from the high proportion of unrecoverable loans. The state decided that it was not the banks' fault, since they were simply obliged to give those credits in the past. So far so good. However, why should the BGZ, which is a joint state-and-cooperative bank, be treated differently? The BGZ works in cooperation with a great many other cooperative banks, and if they were all to join forces together, they could create a bank with a dominant proportion of cooperative capital. That would change its profile and at the same time restore it to health very effectively. We cannot have situations in which people like Mr. Kawalec keep throwing a wrench in just because they happen to have taken an exception to Chairman Cichosz. It is in Polish agriculture's best interest to assist the BGZ in getting back on its feet.

[Luczak] Let us assume that Prime Minister Pawlak had very strong arguments in favor of dismissing Vice Minister Kawalec. But would it not have been both easier and politically safer to present these arguments fist to the SLD leadership and to Deputy Prime Minister Borowski? Instead, Pawlak recalled Kawalec very quickly, as if in an emergency. It looked as if every minute's delay could heighten the danger of Kawalec's grabbing the state's cash box under his coat and making off with it.

[Krol] According to my information, the prime minister could not count on getting Deputy Prime Minister Borowski to agree to his vice minister's dismissal, so he was forced to act as he did.

[Luczak] But in this way he risked a split in the coalition and an eventual profound political crisis in Poland, did he not?

[Krol] I do not believe that the government coalition was or is likely to fall apart. It is far more probable that the SLD group will disintegrate first. Very many SLD deputies agree with us, either openly or covertly, in disapproving strongly of the activities of the group of liberals within the SLD who are gathered around Aleksander Kwasniewski.

Kwasniewski Outlines Political, Economic Goals

AU1802181294 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 17 Feb 94 p 6

["Transcript" of speech by Aleksander Kwasniewski, chairman of the Democratic Left Alliance, at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, on 29 January]

[Text] I would like to start by referring to an important remark made by Professor Fogel that there are no standard solutions in our countries, and that we must be open and avoid stereotypes.

Journalists sometimes ask me about the situation in these countries, and I assume from their questions that they are seeking analogies with the West. The history of Western capitalism is well known. Many volumes have been written on the subject, describing the path from feudalism to the first accumulation of capital. But not so much has been written describing the path from a

socialist to a free-market economy, and on how to solve social problems along the way. This is a little-known topic. And yet we are dealing with this topic every day, we are adding chapters to this book every single day by means of our practical decisions, solutions, actions, and our society's reaction. This should be borne in mind by those who wish to understand our situation and avoid stereotypes.

I would like to draw your attention to three matters. The first one is the result of the latest parliamentary elections in Poland, where the present government was formed by traditional parties which, though changed, have their roots in the previous system. It is very important to know that this choice, made by the majority of society, does not mean that the population voted for a return to communism. It merely means that society voted for the best possible path, permitting a linking of the reforms to sensitivity for human affairs and expectations. This was a politically mature choice.

I think the new government's primary characteristic is that it is continuing the reforms. It has to do so. There is no other way for Poland, a country that has opted for democracy and democratic institutions, an efficient economy, and participation in European integration and the European security system. I think that these democratic elections (in Poland) were a clear sign that we are pursuing this path and that we are more mature and further ahead in this march than some of our critics make out.

The Polish people approve of the main paths of the reforms and the changes that have occurred over the past five years. But society still needs to make sacrifices. That remains a key issue. The problem has to be viewed from three angles—political, economic, and perhaps the most important one, psychological.

From a political angle, the main problem is stability. This is essential for the political reforms, and we have a good chance of maintaining this stability over the next four years. That provides us with enough time to implement essential though sometimes unpopular decisions. I think the democratic system in Poland has to be steadily developed, and the elections have given us the chance to do so.

The economic sphere contains greater complications. The problem here is finding a compromise between the need to expand the economy and society's expectations, in order to avoid frustration and disenchantment. After many long debates, we have reached the conclusion that right now the government's chief task should be to protect the positive trends that have appeared in the economy. This is not in pursuance of some social democratic principle, but the consequence of a pragmatic approach toward the economy. This is necessary if we are to concern ourselves with the future of the economy.

So first of all it is necessary to maintain such positive trends as the increase in the GNP, and find the money with which to meet society's expectations half way and solve social problems. This is a question of social policy, for we cannot accept such high unemployment and the heavy, sometimes, tragic, living conditions that have become the lot of millions of Poles.

In this sphere we must proceed gradually, because a rapid change in the situation is impossible. From the political point of view, this is a basic problem for the Polish left wing, i.e. for the social democrats, who comprise the largest party in the ruling coalition. Our stance is very clear—the first priority is economic development, and we are prepared to use all available means to protect the economic growth and raise the output of Polish industry.

Of course, our economic program must contain such basic issues as social security and general expenditures on social benefits. In every single postcommunist country, these problems are not just economic, but also political, and they occupy a prominent position in domestic policy. I think we have to be more energetic in our social policy, especially in combating unemployment, and I hope we will succeed in finding a fair compromise between the exigencies of economic development and the expectations of society over the next four years, which is when the present coalition will be still in power.

The psychological aspect of the reforms is perhaps the most important one. Not just in Poland, but also in Russia and other East European countries, there is a problem of how to convert people's thoughts about the future into reality following these great revolutionary, or, if you prefer, evolutionary changes. Social enthusiasm and patience used to be an important factor. Today, there is virtually no enthusiasm left, and society's patience has run out. And the main problem is compelling people to take an active role in the changes.

I do not think these issues are being correctly resolved in our countries. The problem is to encourage Poles to take an active part in democratic institutions, political structures at all levels, trade unions, and the country's economic life.

A very important and positive fact is that literally thousands of people are taking an active part in privatization, stock exchange operations, and the acquisition and disposal of shares. This is essential if we want to have a society that is energetic and geared to a free market.

Of course, Poland had and still has an advantage over its neighbors inasmuch as under the previous system it maintained a small but neverthleless real private sector in the economy. The main task at present is to convince people that further reforms possess a purpose and genuine justification, and that these further reforms are not being pursued just for the hell of it, nor have they been suggested by American advisers, the IMF, or our friends in Davos here. The reforms are of fundamental importance for every Polish family, because thanks to them we

can proceed ahead to a better life. It is of vital importance that everyone understands this, and we must find good arguments to channel our educated society's energy potential into pursuing the reforms.

The chief danger to the reforms in Poland, and probably in other central and East European countries, is not the coming into power of a left wing or right wing party, but society's frustration and disenchantment, which could spoil the progress of the reforms. We must eliminate this danger, and I think that in Poland we are managing to do so.

Kwasniewski: Walesa's Decision Prelude To Election

LD2202161794 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1252 GMT 22 Feb 94

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Feb—Aleksander Kwasniewski, chairman of the National Assembly's Constitutional Commission and the SLD [Democratic Left Alliance] leader, has described the president's decision to withdraw his representative from the Commission as a kind of political action with preparations for the next presidential election in mind. "This is a prelude to the election," Kwasniewski said in an interview for a PAP journalist.

He confirmed that the Commission was working in accordance with the 1991 law on the procedures of preparing and adopting the constitution, and that it was going to continue its task irrespective of the presidential representative's absence. He added that the "Constitution issue is moving to a political plane with the constitutional referendum as an epilogue." According to Kwasniewski, there will be a clear division of political forces during the referendum, with one group calling for the support of the constitution and another being against it. "The president clearly wants to attach himself to such an alternative to the present parliament," Kwasniewski said.

The SLD leader does not see the conflict as a kind of a "game at the top" between the president and parliament, as there are divergent interests. "The president is anxious to be reelected and he assumed that he could treat the Constitution as an element in the battle for reelection," Kwasniewski said.

While commenting on Lech Walesa's statement that the "post- communists have started feeling strong and they are becoming too cocksure and the president would like to clip their wings a bit," Kwasniewski said that he "did not know where this strength lay." According to him, the president "clearly wants to place himself closer to the right side, seeing there a chance for support. But if this is the way—the president comments on the vote on his constitutional bills—then he is exaggerating. There was no strategy in the voting. Not only the SLD deputies, but also his favorite Polish Peasant Party deputies voted against," Kwasniewski stated.

Longest Postwar Miners Strike Ends

LD1902174894 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1600 GMT 19 Feb 94

[Text] The longest strike in the post-war history of Poland ended last night. After 19 days, 78 miners from the Pomorzany mine [belonging to the Boleslaw Mining and Metallurgical Plant] returned to the surface.

A signed agreement guarantees the miners a pay rise of 1.5 million zlotys a month and a quarterly bonus based on the enterprise's profits. According to the director of the Boleslaw mining and metallurgical plant this is all the enterprise can manage at the moment.

Government Declaration on Events in Sarajevo

AU1802170594 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 18 Feb 94

[Text] At the end of the news conference that has just concluded at Victoria Palace the government spokesman, Mr. Ioan Rosca, read the executive declaration regarding the decision on withdrawal of heavy weapons from the Sarajevo area. The declaration reads as follows:

Romania's Government with satisfaction took note of and hails the decision of the Bosnian Serb forces to withdraw heavy weapons from the Sarajevo area, as well as the decision that the Muslims will turn in certain pieces of heavy artillery. This decision will prevent the risk of expansion of military actions and will make a contribution to actions aimed at defusing the situation in the Sarajevo area.

Reasserting complete support for a political settlement of the conflict and noting that under the current circumstances a possible military intervention might have unforeseeable consequences and even consequences that are opposite to the proposed goals, the Romanian Government expresses hope that the favorable moment that has been created will mark the beginning of actions aimed at finding durable solutions both in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the rest of the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

In conclusion it is also mentioned that, as far as it is concerned, the Romanian Government continues to express its willingness to contribute to actions of finding political solutions to the conflict together with the other countries neighboring the former Yugoslavia and with other interested countries.

The news conference continued with the spokesman summing up the major issues discussed today during the meeting of the executive.

The minister of agriculture, Ioan Oancea, read a report on the stage of agricultural works and stressed that the soil fertilization is taking place at a very slow pace because of the lack of funds. However, the situation is about to improve, through the implementation of a recent government decision.

In the same context, Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu called for the expansion of control over the implementation of the government norms and over the application of reform in various economic sectors.

Also during the government meeting, Minister of State Mircea Cosea, president of the Coordination, Strategy, and Economic Reform Council, briefed those present about the stage of the discussions regarding the actions that have been taken in the privatization acceleration process. Mr. Mircea Cosea insisted on the need to ensure a uniform coordination of privatization policies of various bodies in charge of various sectors in this area. The norms currently valid in connection with reform and certain norms that are in the middle of a finalization process have been reviewed, namely, a draft decision regarding the organization and functioning of the secondary market for property certificates, another draft decision regarding methods to sell bonds, and the draft law on accelerating the privatization process.

Likewise, it was noted that there are plans to reorganize the National Agency for Privatization.

At the same time, proposals were made to modify certain existing norms, respectively law No. 15 regarding the legal status of commercial companies and their responsibility. State Minister Mircea Cosea mentioned that a first action to speed up privatization will be to make a public offer, that is to sell bonds from six commercial companies, out of the 63 that will be privatized in April-May 1994.

Further, Mr. Mircea Cosea presented the projects for the future development of small and medium-sized enterprises, informing the executive that the Romanian Fund for Guaranteeing Credits for Small and Medium-Sized Enterprise, in which the Romanian state has a share of 98 percent, started operating. He also informed the executive that the Balkan Center for Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises has been set up in Bucharest.

Also during the meeting that the cabinet held today, the draft decision to increase the salary fund, exempt from additional tax, has been adopted, as a result of the increase of economic efficiency of the activity carried out by commercial companies whose majority shares belong to the state and autonomous public corporations. He also noted that, as a result of discussions with trade unions, the basis for calculating salary increase according to other economic indicators, remains open.

Ministry Statement Expresses Satisfaction

AU2102194494 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 21 Feb 94

[Text] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Bucharest has issued a statement expressing satisfaction over the receptivity shown by the sides involved in the Bosnian conflict when they accepted the measures aimed at halting hostilities in the Sarajevo area, which is seen as a first step to finding a negotiable and viable arrangement for Bosnia-Herzegovina as well as for all Yugoslav territory. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs also considers that the Russian contingent within UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] can play a positive role in totally assuaging the tense situation in Sarajevo and welcomes the realism shown by the ministers of certain important NATO states in examining the situation in Sarajevo. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs believes that all these encouraging signs can give further impetus to negotiations.

Iliescu Interviewed on Relations With Iran

NC2102101594 Tehran RESALAT in Persian 13 Feb 94 p 5

["Exclusive" interview with Romanian President Ion Iliescu by unidentified RESALAT correspondent in Bucharest during Foreign Minister Velayati's visit to Romania]

[Excerpts] [RESALAT] While expressing gratitude to Your Excellency for giving us your time, I wish to ask your opinion on the future prospects for relations between Iran and Romania in view of the fact that 940 Iranian companies are currently engaged in economic activities in your country and have invested there.

[Iliescu] Initially, I wish to emphasize that the relations between the two countries are very strong and are favored by the people of the two countries. In recent years, our relations have improved on the basis of mutual respect and trust. Despite all the changes that have taken place between Iran and Romania, relations have continued in a cohesive form and have been strengthened by suitable political circumstances, the will of the leaders to preserve traditional political and economic relations, and those leaders' interest in regional cooperation because of the distinctive characteristics of the two countries that have culminated in economic closeness.

Those relations have been constantly expanding so that the Islamic Republic of Iran is the fourth greatest partner in economic exchanges with Romania, which shows the capabilities of the two countries for greater economic cooperation. Of course, there is also the possibility of upgrading the exchanges, which are currently at half a billion dollars annually. We believe that it would be appropriate to increase the exchanges because of the reciprocal recognition and relations between the two economic parties.

Iran is the most important supplier of oil to Romania. A project is underway for the construction of a gas pipeline from Iran to Europe in which Romania is actively involved. It is hoped that the project will materialize soon. In the near future, a joint commission of the two projects will be set up in Bucharest. Only today a trade and commerce agreement was signed between Iran and Romania, which facilitates the increase in trade, and new plans for cooperation will be specified at the joint commission's session. We will support them and are very hopeful of the implementation of such projects.

[RESALAT] Does your leanings toward the West, especially in the field of free trade and a market economy, mean that you will change your relations with those countries with which you have traditional ties, such as Iran?

[Iliescu] On the contrary, I believe that the world is leaning toward the participation of countries in international exchanges and that we are witnessing a trend toward integrating national economies with international economies. [passage omitted]

[RESALAT] Europe and the rest of the West have not been able to end the tragedy in Bosnia-Herzegovina. What is your assessment of the issue? Ostensibly, the United Nations treats the people of Europe—including the Bosnian Muslims—very unjustly. Why is that?

[Iliescu] The tragedy that the people of the former Yugoslavia have been faced with, especially the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina, has also affected Romania because it is a neighbor of Yugoslavia. In the past we have had very cordial relations. [passage omitted]

We believe that this conflict can be resolved by the international community as the continuation of war and bloodshed can only deepen the catastrophe in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Of course, steps have been taken in this direction. In the Geneva talks the basic conditions were discussed and an understanding was achieved. Therefore, constant efforts should be made until a solution is reached.

We are confident that logic will be victorious, since the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina have lived together for centuries. It is not a mere ethnic conflict, as a large number of people in Bosnia- Herzegovina are Serbs and Croats who accepted Islam during the Ottoman empire. [passage omitted on historical details]

[RESALAT] How are your relations with Russia, especially on economic issues? What is your opinion on the statements made by Zhirinovskiy? He has threatened Russia's neighbors. What do you think about this?

[Iliescu] We are following the developments in Russia very carefully, as it is a major country in out region. We are neighbors and we should maintain our relations with Russia. We have had both positive and negative relations throughout history, and it is to our benefit that democratic forces should triumph in Russia so internal stability may be ensured and it can play a positive role in the world.

Unfortunately, there have been problems in the republics of the former Soviet Union, especially economic disarray that has had a negative impact on the lives of the people. This has resulted in the emergence of extremists such as Zhirinovskiy, who are considered very dangerous. With such forces coming into power, not only Russian reforms but the stability of the region, Europe, and the world are in danger. We are interested in having good relations with Russia. We want to expand such relations with Russia and Ukraine on the basis of respect and safeguarding reciprocal interests. We want our relations to be based on mutual respect and the preservation of the interests of both sides. [passage omitted]

As president of Romania, I wish to congratulate the Iranian nation on its auspicious celebrations of victory over the shah's regime and hope that you are successful in consolidating society and every department of your

country. The people of Romania welcomed the struggles of the people of Iran and interpreted them as the wishes of the Iranian nation.

SRI Chief Addresses Miners, Urges Patience

AU1802155994 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 18 Feb 94

[Text] Discussions started at the Ministry of Industry at around 1515 local time between the delegation of the Lignitul Mining Trade Union Federation Targu Jiu, which includes five trade union leaders and two technical counselors, accompanied by Mr. Ilie Torsan, the president of the League of Mining Trade Unions, in his capacity as observer on behalf of the League, and the representatives of the Ministry of Labor and Social Protection, the Department in Charge of Relations With Trade Unions and Employers' Association, the Ministry of Industry, Department of Mining and Geology, and the Brown Coal Autonomous Public Corporation. The group's talks are being coordinated by Dumitru Popescu, the minister of industry.

Our correspondents have informed us that so far the press has not been permitted access to the talks.

The demonstrators, who this afternoon have been in the square of the Gorj Prefect's Office, continue to wait in a tense atmosphere for the results of the negotiations held at the Ministry of Industry.

According to our correspondent's reports, a new element came up after 1300. Mr. Virgil Magureanu, the director of the Romanian Intelligence Service [SRI] addressed the miners for a few minutes at the microphone installed at the entrance of the Targu Jiu Brown Coal Autonomous Public Corporation. He mentioned that he has learned from Miron Cosma [leader of Romania's Mining Trade Union Confederation] about their claims and that all of them should display patience. Mr. Virgil Magureanu said that in the next few days, an investigation will be carried out in connection with the accusations against the Administration Council of the Brown Coal Public Corporation and the results of the investigation will be made public. The demonstrators did not agree with this delay.

Court Says Strike Illegal; Protest To Continue

AU2102140094 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 21 Feb 94

[Text] At this hour groups of miners, although in smaller numbers as compared to previous days, are gathered in the square next to the Targu Jiu Brown Coal Public Corporation, where they are waiting for the arrival of Miron Cosma [leader of Romania's Miners' Free Trade Unions], who on Friday [18 February] night let them understand that he would arrive today at 1200 [1000 GMT].

Today the Targu Jiu Court of Justice admitted the request forwarded to it by the aforementioned public corporation and declared illegal the strike held between 14-18 February [by the Lignitul Mining Trade Union Federation members] in the square of the Gorj County Prefect's Office. The court of justice established that its ruling may be appealed within 48 hours.

Following that decision Mr. Nicolae Mihu, the chairman of the Lignitul Mining Trade Union Federation stated that he will appeal the sentence and that the strike will continue despite the fact that it is considered illegal. The halting of the strike depends on who will be the members of the government commission [to be sent to inquire about the causes of the strike] and the beginning of the investigations to find the irregularities at the brown coal public corporation.

Within a few minutes a news conference is scheduled to begin at the Gorj County Prefect's Office headquarters, which is to be attended by Gorj County Prefect Gheorghe Caralicea-Marculescu and the representatives of the Targu Jiu Brown Coal Public Corporation.

Our correspondent accredited to Victoria Palace [government headquarters] learned from sources at the Ministry of Industry that this morning four general directors of the aforementioned ministry left for Targu Jiu to examine, in the light of the written complaints sent to the ministry by the Lignitul Mining Trade Union Federation, the activity of the administration board of the brown coal public corporation . They will also discuss the issues raised by that trade union federation in connection with the collective labor contract.

Coposu Reviews European Tour, Visit With King

AU2102174594 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 21 Feb 94

[Text] At a news conference today, Corneliu Coposu, chairman of the National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party [PNTCD], discussed the results of his recent tour through a number of European countries. Coposu said that, generally speaking, Romania enjoys the sympathy of the West, but there is also some reticence, which Coposu termed as a tendency to set up a left-wing government and reestablish communism in Romania. As a consequence of this, Coposu stressed that the West might reconsider its position regarding Romania's final acceptance as a full member of the Council of Europe.

Coposu also said that during his tour, he paid a visit to Versoix [Switzerland, residence of Romanian King], where he met with the former sovereign of Romania, after which he emphasized that the king does not intend to apply for an entry visa for Easter or 10 May [Romania's national day during the monarchy], although he did express his wish to visit Romania as soon as possible, reports our correspondent Iulia Gherman.

PRM Accuses Iliescu of 'Lack of Responsibility'

AU2202115594 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 19 Feb 94 p 3

["Excerpts" from open letter addressed by the Greater Romania Party to President Ion Iliescu, presented by party president Corneliu Vadim Tudor at his regular weekly news conference in Bucharest, on 18 February: "The Greater Romania Party Addresses an Open Letter, Full of Reproaches, to President Iliescu"]

[Text] If before December 1989 the Romanians were worried about the future, now they are worried about the present, since they are no longer sure whether they are going to see the end of the day, because of the hunger, the cold in their homes, sickness, epidemics, and the ever growing crime rate. On the rare occasions when I participated alongside of you in certain events devoted to various historical commemorations, several earnest Romanian women called out to us: "Take care of our president, do not allow him to be overthrown by the opposition!" If you remember well, Mr. Iliescu, we took care of you as much as we could. We punished your unfair adversaries, massively supported you in your election campaign, and contributed our share to the country's stability. (...) Unfortunately, while we took good care of you, Mr. President, and ourselves became the targets of many arrows meant for you, you did not take too much care of the country, since if you had done, one would have been able to see some results after four years of experimentation. So far, in your opinion and the opinion of certain profiteers you have surrounded yourself with, everybody is guilty for the country's disaster, except you, who are clean as Snow White. Is is possible to show such a lack of responsibility? When you were dreaming, from the wings, to become Ceausescu's successor, what did you think that the tasks of a Romanian head of state are? To be photographed together with singer Michael Jackson, to partake in artistic happenings and drinking bouts in various Bucharest establishments, or to go to theater shows and attend musical soirees, where you could indulge in your own reveries? Do you not think that while you fall in musical ecstasies amidst the dressing gowns of famous ladies, we are all living through the last moments of the Titanic, which sank while the band was playing? Mr. President, the country is crying, in desperation the workers of Grivita Workshops are attacking the headquarters of the Ministry of Transport. The situation is as explosive as during the February 1933 strikes, let alone the strike wave that has hit the entire country—and it would be a mistake to think that all these actions are politically motivated. (...) Mr. President, although you are a hydraulics and energy engineer by profession, I am sure you have heard of the great Roman orator Cato, who said, I quote: "The thieves who steal from individuals end up in chains, while those who thieve from the people live in wealth and splendor," end of quote. Aside from having done nothing in the past four years to curb corruption and thievery, you have now begun to openly take the side of certain proven criminals. What kind of hold do the likes of Petre Roman [president of the Democratic Party National Salvation Front], Nicolae Spiroiu, and so forth have on you? As straightforward people, who clearly and openly state what they think, allow us to point out another sad story: Against the background of certain preconceived ideas of yours, which make you punish the Romanians, while embracing the minority members, certain appalling manifestations have acquired an ever greater scope, such as the conceitedness of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania, the impertinence of Rabbi Moses Rosen and of other Jews who blame the Romanians for the Holocaust, and the magnitude of the Gypsy crime rate, all of which are making Romanians to feel like strangers in their own home, which is to feel uncertain, threatened, and blamed by these minority members, who are abusing our traditional humanity.

At this dramatic time for the country, the Greater Romania Party [PRM] informs the electorate that it is suspending all negotiations begun with the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR] on a possible participation in the government. We ask the government first to establish order in its own backyard, institute the rule of law, and disarm and sue the thieves, after which we can talk again. We are not seeking public status and positions; we have been and remain a party of the many, simple, and poor people. (...) The country is on fire, Mr. Iliescu. Hard times are ahead of us all and so far you have given no indication that you can feel the true pulse of events. We think that a possible outbreak of popular despair would be much more ravaging than the December 1989 revolt, on whose wings you came to power. (...) Wake up, Mr. Iliescu, if not out of patriotism or pity for the many oppressed and dispossessed, then out of an instinct of preservation. We are not afraid of early elections, but why are those around you afraid of them? We conclude this letter by assuring you of our full regard for your real qualities and high position. We inform all Romanians who love their country that the National Bloc awaits them with open arms and the tricolor national flag in our hearts!

The letter is signed by the entire PRM Steering Committee.

PRM's Tudor Makes Accusations of Misconduct

AU2202115694 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 19 Feb 94 p 1

[Adrian Halpert article: "Corneliu Vadim Tudor Insinuates That President Ion Iliescu Was Involved in Sexual Scandals"]

[Text] In today's issue of the magazine POLITICA, Corneliu Vadim Tudor, senator of the Greater Romania Party [PRM], resumes—this time under his own signature—the attacks launched against Ambassador Traian Chebeleu, President Ion Iliescu's spokesman, "despite the suspect protection he enjoys from Messrs. Ion Iliescu and Adrian Nastase [executive president of the Social Democracy Party of Romania-PDSR]."

In an article published on the front page of the aforementioned weekly, the PRM leader claims that "the information about Madame Roxana Sugurel (former secretary of Traian Chebeleu when the latter was working at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs—editorial note), with whom the insatiable Chebeleu was caught in compromising circumstances inside the sanctuary of Cotroceni [presidential palace], were telephoned in to our magazine by an aide to President Ion Iliescu, whose allegations were also backed by a senator."

After vilifying Traian Chebeleu once more, Corneliu Vadim Tudor launches a frontal attack against President Ion Iliescu, insinuating that he might also have been involved in similar sexual scandals: "Why do you defend his sexual escapades and aberrations, Mr. Iliescu? Do you want us to believe the similar press accusations against you on the same subject, regarding certain affairs you had when you were first secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth or on your various assignments in Iasi, Timisoara, the Ministry of Waters, or the Technical Publishing House?"

Corneliu Vadim Tudor does not forget Adrian Nastase, either, who is picked as a target for the letter of support he has sent to the presidential spokesman. The PDSR executive president, Adrian Nastase, is called "sweetheart beatitude" (preafericitul bombonel), winner of the great "silver condom" prize.

Finally, in the PRM leader's opinion, the two politicians, Ion Iliescu and Adrian Nastase, "are surely leading the country to new disasters."

Senate Panel To Investigate

AU2202093594 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 21 Feb 94

[Text] Shortly after 1500 the Senate resumed its plenary session in Omnia Hall. After the agenda was agreed, they discussed a number of organizational issues.

Following this, the chairman of the session, Senate Speaker Oliviu Gherman presented a communique released by the Senate Commission for Defense, Public Order, and National Security referring to the accusations of [Greater Romania Party] Senator Corneliu Vadim Tudor made during the plenary session of the Senate and by means of the mass media against the minister of national defense [Lieutenant General Nicolae Spiroiu] and other top officials in that ministry. The communique states that, quote, within the next two weeks the commission will examine the documents and the assertions underlying those accusations, as well as the extent to which the comply with reality. On the basis of the conclusions that will be drawn from those investigations the Commission for Defense, Public Order, and National Security will make suggestions to the Senate with respect to the way in which the case should be solved, unquote.

Our correspondent, Victor Spirache, reports that the session then proceeded to hear a number of reports elaborated by the mediation commissions [mediating between the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies], after which the senators continued to discuss the articles of the draft bill on labor protection.

Sarajevo Solution Seen as Model for Other Cities

LD2102194094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1858 GMT 21 Feb 94

[Text] Tokyo, Feb 21 (TANJUG)—U.N. Secretary General special envoy for former Yugoslavia Yasushi Akashi stated on Monday that the solution for the partial demilitarization of Sarajevo will be a model for other cities in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, for example Mostar.

Fighting has been going on for one year already in Mostar, southern Bosnia-Herzegovina, between Bosnian Moslems and Croats for domination over the city.

If there are no grave breeches of the ceasefire in the region of Sarajevo, we could say that the possibility that NATO air strikes be launched in Bosnia is longer existant, Akashi said in an interview to Japanese television.

Serbs and Moslems have complied with NATO's demand that by midnight February 20 heavy weapons around Sarajevo be withdrawn or placed under U.N. control, therefore according to UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] headquarters, NATO air strikes are not necessary.

The ceasefire, which was signed last Wednesday by Serbian and Moslem forces in Sarajevo, is also respected.

Akashi said he hoped that new agreements between the warring sides will be reached soon. The economic and social life in Sarajevo could be renewed and citizens could leave and enter the city freely, he said.

Akashi explained that NATO's threats of air strike have had a specific role in achieving the partial demilitarization of Sarajevo, but that other factors have also helped.

The complete calming of the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina cannot be achieved for several months yet, Akashi assessed and added that the U.N. will continue to use the carrot and stick method, to bring the warring sides to an agreement.

Akashi considered that the three warring sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Moslem, Serbian and Croatian, will form three republics, gathered in a federal Bosnia-Herzegovina. Akashi said he hoped that the earlier communal life would be possible once again.

The plan to divide Bosnia-Herzegovina into three ethnic republics, supported by the European Union and on the basis of which peace negotiations on Bosnia-Herzegovina are being led, is accepted by Bosnian Serbs and Croats, and rejected by Moslems.

Additional Ultimatums Considered

AU2102114794 Paris AFP in English 1141 GMT 21 Feb 94

[By Slim Allagui]

[Text] Copenhagen, Feb 21 (AFP)—NATO may renew its threat of air strikes against Bosnia's Serbs to forcibly reopen the airport in Tuzla and to ensure a changeover of UN troops in Srebrenica, Danish Defense Minister Hans Haekkerup said Monday.

"We are taking one problem at a time, by choosing Sarajevo first before going on to other problems," Haekkerup said, referring to the threat of NATO air strikes which convinced the Serbs to remove their heavy weapons from around Sarajevo or place them under UN control.

"The threat of air strikes will be used again," Haekkerup told the daily DET FRIE AKTUELT. "If we managed to force the withdrawal of heavy weapons from around Sarajevo, the UN and NATO are ready to impose new conditions, and there is a good chance they will be respected.

"You can't deny that they (the Serbs) took the NATO threat seriously," he said. "The situation on the ground confirms that."

The airport in the northeastern Bosnian town of Tuzla is held by UN troops but the Serbs have steadfastly refused to let it be used to fly in emergency aid.

The Serbs have also prevented Canadian UN peacekeepers from being rotated out of the besieged Moslem enclave of Srebrenica in the east of the country.

Also Monday, Danish Premier Poul Rasmussen said the United Nations had asked his government to divert to Sarajevo a column of tanks bound for Tuzla.

Rasmussen, emerging from a meeting of the Danish Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee, said the government had received the request during the night but had not yet decided whether it was going to reply favourably.

He said the United Nations wanted the tanks to be on the outskirts of Sarajevo ready to intervene if the withdrawal of heavy artillery by the Bosnian Serbs did not go as planned.

The 10 German-designed Leopard tanks, accompanied by 100 Danish soldiers, are already on their way to join the Nordic battalion in Tuzla from the south after being refused permission by the Serbs for some four months to go in from the north.

Rasmussen said any change in itinerary would have to be approved by parliament.

The chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, Peter Duetoft, said "The United Nations is within its rights to divert our tanks temporarily, but their final destination remains Tuzla, where they will defend the Nordic battalion of around 1,000 men and contribute to opening up the airport of this besieged town."

Rasmussen also emphasised Denmark's support for keeping up pressure on the Serbs.

"Pressure on the Serbs should be maintained even if the risk of NATO air strikes on Serb positions is much less than a few days ago," he said.

"In the longer term, one could imagine putting similar pressure on other towns in difficulty in Bosnia."

He said he was glad that the NATO threat to launch air strikes on heavy weapons not withdrawn from a radius of 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) from the center of Sarajevo had been taken seriously, and "confident in the Serbs' inclination to keep their promises to withdraw all their heavy weaponry from around Sarajevo."

Serb General: Withdrawal Obligations Fulfilled

LD2102214094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2006 GMT 21 Feb 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 21 Feb (TANJUG)—General Stanislav Galic, the commander of the Sarajevo-Romanija Corps, said today that his units had fullfilled all the obligations regarding the movement of its artillery and its placement under UN control, in compliance with the decisions of the Srpska republic army's supreme command.

"Some very insignificant deviations from the general trend of the withdrawal were caused by weather conditions, but we are ready to agree on that, too, and to finalize that part of the job at any moment," General Galisc said.

Asked about the current situation in the zone of responsibility of the Sarajevo-Romanija Corps, Galic stressed the soldiers of his corps were in a state of increased combat readiness, primarily because they expected that the Muslim forces could take advantage of the current circumstances.

"Whoever attacks us is our enemy, and we shall defend ourselves to the very end," Galic added.

Commenting on the arrival in Sarajevo of the Russian UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] battalion Galic said this was a case of the Russians coming back to their old, primordial friends and that the friendship ought to continue to be fostered.

"We welcomed them as brothers, as people, and as soldiers. We shall do our utmost to facilitate them in performing their task of peacekeeping in the area."

"The Russian battalion will be deployed between the warring parties; that is, in front of our defense lines. UNPROFOR does not have a sufficient number of soldiers to cover the whole front line, but the Russians will take certain positions from which they will be able to efficiently supervise the cease-fire," Galic said, adding that he had visited the Russian battalion with General Soubirou, UNPROFOR commander for Sarajevo.

Asked what was the subject of his talks today with General Michael Rose, Galic gave a brief answer: "General Rose was doing his routine tour of the area, and he called on the command of the Sarajevo-Romanija corps for consultations over coffee, something that is a part of his professional duties and cooperation."

Serbian General Says Controlled Arms 'Operational'

AU2202155094 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Feb 94 p 1

[Article by D.B.: "We Have Given In a Little"]

[Text] Pale— What has been done about Sarajevo has been done, it seems to me, in the best possible way, states General Manojlo Milovanovic, head of the general staff of the army of the Srpska republic. The combat readiness of the Sarajevo-Romanija Corps has not been disturbed one bit, although we had to give in a little and put certain artillery pieces under [UN] control. However, these artillery pieces are still operational, their ammunition is beside them, and they can act at any moment, Milovanovic says.

According to Gen. Milovanovic, these events may be "the beginning of the end of the war" if a political solution is found for Sarajevo, as is being announced. If a political solution is not found within the next month, the end of the war will still be far away.

Ganic: Serbs Have Not Met Terms of Ultimatum

LD2002225694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 20 Feb 94

[Interview with Bosnian Presidency member Ejup Ganic by Midhat Kulender in the studio—live]

[Text] [Kulender] Mr. Ganic, we heard the report from the news conference. It is now 2221, has there been anything new, any new reports since the news conference this evening?

[Ganic] No. The fact is that the task has not been carried out the way the NATO ultimatum demanded. UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] troops are still trying to get the job done, but I personally believe they are far from achieving the objective. The task has, therefore, not been achieved in accordance with the NATO declaration.

[Kulender] Our state has fulfilled all conditions contained in the NATO declaration?

[Ganic] Of course. I would like to tell the listeners that many traps were set for our state in the process of the adoption and implementation of the declaration. The day NATO held their session in Brussels an urgent meeting of military representatives was convened at the airport here in Sarajevo under great pressure from the Belgrade regime. The Serb side offered an ostensibly extremely flexible agreement on the withdrawal of

weapons, but an overly vague, imprecise agreement. They insisted that the agreement be signed by 1500 at the latest.

President Izetbegovic and I were at the Presidency and we withdrew our delegation for consultations and gave them instructions. We quickly saw through the game. The Belgrade regime's objective was that a report be promptly sent to Brussels from the meeting at Sarajevo airport saying that an agreement had been achieved on some withdrawal or other of the heavy weaponry so that NATO would not pass a specific resolution, that is, an ultimatum. We avoided that first trap.

After the declaration was passed, UNPROFOR, that is those who in a certain way control UNPROFOR, insisted that several commissions and subcommissions be formed to implement the NATO declaration and the ultimatum. President Izetbegovic then formed a crisis headquarters whose members are known—I am the head of the crisis headquarters—and whose task was to cooperate with UNPROFOR and find a way to avoid all traps set in order to prevent the implementation of the declaration.

What was the aggressor's aim and, I must say, the aim of some states who have their troops within UNPROFOR forces? Their aim was to drag us into some negotiations, futile negotiations at the airport, into signing several kinds of agreements in order to make it look—when the ultimatum deadline expires—as if we could not agree with the Serb side on the positions, on the details, and on the timing of the withdrawal and make it look like both sides were to blame for the failure to implement the resolution.

We adopted a very clear strategy. We said that we understood the NATO declaration perfectly well; we wish to maintain contact with UNPROFOR on a strictly written basis—we shall go on meeting but, prior to each meeting, we insist that we have written material, questions in writing, and that everything be meticulously documented. This used to drive them insane, but it helped resolve all the problems between us and UNPROFOR. It helped us observe the resolution, and we left it up to them to haggle with the Serb side.

Naturally, they failed to accomplish anything with the Serb side over this eight-day period. They have been working on the implementation of the NATO declaration for only two days, which is why this whole crisis broke out. UNPROFOR made a mistake, a serious blunder—this is yet to be elucidated—because it used the NATO declaration, the NATO ultimatum, as working material for negotiations with the Serb side. In other words, they fell into the trap set by Belgrade's diplomacy, which has been pulling the strings all along. This was the result—UNPROFOR's people scattered all over the hills over the past two days discovering weapons and, in a way, trying to collect what could be collected and, to a certain extent, I feel that General Rose—who has a brilliant resume—is slowly sinking into the same quagmire and making the same mistakes as his predecessors. The outcome of all this, and this was confirmed by Mr. Akashi who said that 20 percent of the weapons are not under control, is that the approximate locations are known but the percentage of uncontrolled weapons is much higher. Therefore, the NATO resolution has not been respected by the aggressor.

We did our job professionally and consistently, and this is a diplomatic victory for us. The Western countries should now decide whether they wish to keep their promises and, of course, whether they wish to base their future policies on the strength of their promises.

[Kulender] The Russian troops that are supposed to be part of the UN force arrived in Pale this evening.

[Ganic] Yes, they have arrived. I believe, you know, the United Nations rallies most of the world. The Russian troops are part of the UN force, we shall keep that in mind. Russia did not take part, it did not cooperate, it did not even assist in drawing up this NATO declaration. Naturally, this caused a certain degree of wariness, not only here in Bosnia but in the democratic world at large. However, these troops are under Gen. Rose's command and their deployment will compensate for the expectations of the Pale regime [as heard].

UN Troops To Verify Continuing Weapon Withdrawal

AU2102072594 Paris AFP in English 0336 GMT 21 Feb 94

[Text] Sarajevo, Feb 21 (AFP)—United Nations forces in Sarajevo are Monday [21 February] to verify the continuing withdrawal of Bosnian Serb heavy weapons and to consolidate their positions around the battered capital.

UN officials late Sunday confirmed that both Bosnian Serb and Moslem forces had sufficiently complied with a NATO ultimatum to remove their artillery units from around the city by 0000 GMT Monday.

As a result, they said, there was no immediate need for NATO warplanes to carry out threatened air strikes.

General Andre Soubirou, UN commander for Sarajevo, expressed satisfaction that in the 10 days since the NATO ultimatum was issued Bosnian Serb units had handed over 225 weapons to UN control and the mainly Moslem Bosnian army 43.

While some weapony does remain within a 20-kilometer (12.5 mile) Sarajevo exclusion zone imposed by NATO, United Nations officers on Sunday minimized its importance.

UN troops on Monday will be flown by helicopter to the nine Serb military sites—out of 41—that they had been unable to inspect by the end of the day Sunday because of heavy snow.

From first light reconnaissance aircraft will also return to action, and according to Soubirou, "we should have a precise idea of the situation by the end of the morning."

At the 10 weapons collection points already established—eight for the Serbs and two for the Moslems—armed UN guards have orders to use force to prevent any party from recovering them.

NATO air strikes are also possible if UN ground troops holding the weapons come under attack.

Monday should also see the arrival outside Sarajevo of a second contingent of the 400 Russian peacekeeping troops whose deployment had been sought by the Serbs in exchange for compliance with the NATO ultimatum.

A first contingent has since late Sunday been stationed near Grbavica, where they are to deploy.

Izetbegovic Reassures Sarajevo of 'Victory'

LD2102215894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 21 Feb 94

[Text] Following the withdrawal of the Serb aggressor's artillery from Sarajevo, Alija Izetbegovic, president of Bosnia-Herzegovina, gave a statement for Sarajevo TV.

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] I believe this is a great victory for us. Perhaps it is not a completely clear victory, it is not faultless, some things have spoiled our joy a bit. But it still remains our victory for we are not being killed any more. You can let your children skate freely, they can go to school, you can go to the market without fear that someone will not return home. This is a great achievement after 22 or 23 months of misery.

This is not their victory, as they want to present it. They have even convinced themselves, 500 or 600 years ago when they lost their state [in 1389, the Serbs were defeated by the Turks in the Kosovo battle] that that was their victory, and not a defeat. This is their clear defeat.

For eight days they had been hesitating to withdraw their weapons, they were making up some kinds of reasons, from categorical refusing to different pretexts—snow, adverse weather conditions, and so on. In two days only they were forced to take to a headlong flight, leaving behind weaponry in their retreat. Do not let yourselves be convinced that this is a victory for them as they are now trying to convince themselves in those hills up there. They left behind—handed in—262 pieces of heavy weaponry, including 36 tanks and armored vehicles.

I think that this is our victory and a first step, first in a series of good things that are going to happen to this city. Electricity and water supply will be better, food supplies will be better, convoys carrying food and medicines will enter more safely, a kind of spring is coming. Therefore, please celebrate this victory and do not be afraid any longer. Of course, we are not going to allow the city to be divided. We must not be afraid of that either. This is a political solution. They are no longer there with their tanks and their guns above our heads.

Karadzic Suggests Confederation With Greece

NC2002180894 Athens ET-1 Television Network in Greek 1600 GMT 20 Feb 94

["Exclusive" interview with Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic by Elliniki Radhiofonia correspondents Yeoryios Kharvalias and Nikolaos Meletis in Pale; date not given—interview in English with subtitles in Greek]

[Text] [Correspondent] Mr. President, there were some measures taken recently by the Greek Government against the Republic of Skopje [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] and actually we closed the borders to impose an embargo. What is your opinion about these measures?

[Karadzic] I fully understand the Greek Government and its sensitivity toward the name and symbols of Macedonia. I think that Skopje should return to Yugoslavia to prevent the dissolution of this country because Albanians would like to take the whole of Macedonia or to take the eastern part of Macedonia. Then there would be another Balkan war. Greece is right to be very cautious about what is happening in the neighborhood of Greece. We do hope that we will be always neighbors and maybe some time even be a confederation.

[Correspondent] Really?

[Karadzic] I would like to see this.

[Correspondent] Is there any message for the Greek people?

[Karadzic] Yes, thanks to the whole Greek nation, two governments, two oppositions, to the church for what they have done for the Serb people. We will never forget this. I do think that a good foundation for the Balkans is for Greece and Serbia to have good relations and I see now Bulgaria is also sympathizing with the Serbs and this is a good contact for peace.

[Correspondent] And one last question, Mr. President. Actually, the ultimatum expires in some hours. What will actually happen if there is a bombardment? How are you going to react? Your troops against the blue helmets?

[Karadzic] If we are attacked by anyone, no matter who it may be, we will defend ourselves. It is the legitimate right of the people to defend themselves.

[Correspondent] Thank you.

Hails Russian Success in Sarajevo

AU2102220094 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 21 Feb 94

[Report by Slobodan Jankovic]

[Text] Pale—The day after the ultimatum—a day of relief in the areas around Sarajevo. The task of deploying the Russian blue helmets along the demarcation lines has been drawn to a close, and the remaining Serbian heavy weaponry has been moved. Obviously, the moments of high tension are over. The media event of the day was the news conference of the Srpska republic's political leadership. Numerous correspondents asked some 20 questions, most of which were addressed to president Karadzic. The situation around Sarajevo was the center of attention, primarily as the first step, the future model for solving the remaining crisis points. Commenting on this, Radovan Karadzic stressed that the Serbian side has proposed to Akashi to continue this peace process—particularly in the case of Tuzla—which was a subject that interested many foreign correspondents. In reply to a question about Russia's return to the great diplomatic scene, Radovan Karadzic said:

[Begin Karadzic recording] I believe that it was completely unnatural that Russia had been absent from all these tasks, and I think that the West had forgotten that Russia is a great country and a great power, and now it was reminded of this fact in the best possible way. We are ready to swiftly continue—in cooperation with primarily Russia, followed by Greece and Great Britain—and we are ready to include or accept France and the United States into this cooperation. [sentence as heard] [end recording]

Serbian heavy artillery and information on how much has been done regarding its withdrawal elicited a brief but precise answer from president Karadzic. Over 50 percent of the weaponry has been withdrawn to outside the 20-km exclusion zone, while the rest has been placed under UN control. As soon as weather conditions permit, we will withdraw these weapons as well, replied Karadzic. As far as the continuation of the Geneva negotiations is concerned, the president of the Srpska republic said that the negotiations now depend on the cochairmen's ambitions and the readiness of the other two warring sides. We shall discuss exchange of territory, but Sarajevo will remain divided into two neighboring cities, said Radovan Karadzic at a news conference held this afternoon.

We have also noted a significant assessment by the Srpska republic military leadership regarding the ultimatum. General Manojlo Milovanovic, chief of the Srpska republic army's general staff, said today that the Serbs had carried out their part of the bargain. What has been done around Sarajevo has been done in the best possible way. The combat readiness of the Sarajevo Corps has not been endangered by this, said General Milovanovic.

Russian UNPROFOR Troops Enter Bosnia for Duty

LD1902141394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1254 GMT 19 Feb 94

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 19 Feb (TANJUG)—Approximately 450 Russian members of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] crossed the border of the Srpska republic at noon [1100 GMT] today, and are expected to arrive in [the Sarajevo suburb of] Lukavica at 1500, SRNA learned from the Srpska republic army's Sarajevo-Romanija corps. [passage omitted]

Srpska Official on Russian Intervention in Sarajevo

AU1902152694 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 19 Feb 94

[Text] In the program On the Spot this morning, Nikola Koljevic, vice president of the Srpska republic, commented on the significance of the turning point in the Bosnian drama: the involvement of the Russian diplomacy at five to twelve.

[Begin Koljevic recording] It is important that it is five to twelve. The turning point happened at the last moment, the moment after which there can be no other turning point. I think that this is a great success for the Russian diplomacy, and, I would add, a great success in recognizing what the Serbs have been committed to from the start. This is not an issue of the siege of Sarajevo, but an issue of defense, of two sides, of the strategic balance between the Serb artillery and the Muslim infantry. The Russian initiative has solved that problem. The arrival of Russian units will enable the withdrawal of the Serb artillery that will not endanger the safety of the Serbs around Sarajevo.

The only danger now, in my opinion, is that in the coming days of the so-called ultimatum, there might be provocations and incidents. The UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] is obliged to prevent any misinterpretation of such incidents, incidents that can be expected. Finally, the regular UNPROFOR reports can be enough to prevent such attempts by the Muslims. [end recording]

[Begin unidentified correspondent recording] Mr. Koljevic, we understand that you are saying that further developments depend on the behavior of the Muslim side and, of course, its western allies that support it. [end recording]

[Begin Koljevic recording] Of course, of course, particularly because the Serbian side has been cooperative to the maximum and, I would add, now it is protected, after the Russian initiative there is no more concern about the disruption of the strategic balance. It is known from the UN Charter that the basic thing in all peace operations is that no side can profit during the peace process. That would compromise the United Nations very much, and that is what UNPROFOR fears the most. We hope that this will have a considerable effect on overcoming this crisis, this need of theirs, that no side should benefit from this. [end recording]

Churkin on Contacts Between Russians, UN, Serbs

AU2102215494 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 21 Feb 94

[Text] Before leaving Pale, Vitaliy Churkin, special envoy of Russian President Boris Yeltsin, assessed the latest events:

[Begin recording] [Churkin] This was a very good night. I slept very well. As of this morning, the Russian battalion is in its place. Things are stable and under control. I am pleased and I am going back to Zagreb. I will return to Sarajevo, however, if anything should go wrong.

I had a long conversation yesterday with some Bosnian Serb leaders and generals. They assured me that they are going to completely fulfill the promises they gave us on the basis of our agreement. Our troops are stable, the weapons have been removed, and UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] is in control. There are good relations between the Serbs and UNPROFOR, as well as among us, UNPROFOR, and the Bosnian Serbs. This is a secure network and everything is heading towards peace.

[Unidentified correspondent] What do you think of the Muslim wish to nevertheless bomb the Serbs?

[Churkin] If they are disappointed by the lack of strikes and that there are no more battles, then they have some psychological problems. We are talking about wrong things here. However, honestly speaking, I do not think that this mood prevails in the Muslim government. I think that they do realize what this city and country mean and that they need more peace than war. I think that they can be satisfied that arrangements initiated by the Serbo- Muslim agreement were implemented at the request of Russia and have not led to confrontation but to cooperation. [end recording]

UNPROFOR Schedules Opening of Tuzla Airport

AU2202131094 Paris AFP in English 1256 GMT 22 Feb 94

[Article by Michel Moutot]

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, Feb 22 (AFP)—Danish tanks and a humanitarian convoy headed for the northeastern Bosnian town of Tuzla on Tuesday after Western allies vowed to reopen the city's airport to help relieve the stricken Moslem population.

The concerted action came after Kofi Annan, the chief of UN peacekeeping operations, said in New York that the United Nations planned to reopen the huge Tuzla airport on March 7.

The international community turned its attention to enclaves around Bosnia following the success of a NATO ultimatum, which threatened air strikes against Bosnian Serb positions unless heavy weapons were withdrawn from around Sarajevo by midnight GMT Sunday.

"The UN and NATO have decided to strike while the iron is hot" in the wake of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation ultimatum on Sarajevo issued on February 9, commented a UN officer here, who declined to be identified.

The Tuzla airport, which has been closed by Bosnian Serb gunners since May last year, is scheduled to open March 7, said Annan after meeting with UN member countries involved in the peacekeeping operation in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

UN troops backed by air support could be used to reopen the airport if necessary following discussions with the parties on the ground, Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali has told the Security Council.

NATO last month renewed an offer to use its warplanes to end the strangulation of Bosnian Serb-besieged Moslem communities if requested by the United Nations.

The million-strong mainly Moslem population of Tuzla, which includes a large minority of refugees fleeing the Bosnian fighting, has been supplied by road convoys alone because of the airport's closure.

According to the UN officer here, the Serbs could no longer prevent the airport reopening at Tuzla, and "NATO planes can overfly Tuzla as they do for Sarajevo, and take out any weapon targeting the airport.

"The balance of power has changed, and the Serbs, who have realised that in Sarajevo, would do well to realise it in Tuzla," he added.

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, quoted by the TANJUG news agency, hinted Monday that the Serbs were ready to discuss the airport reopening, although he argued that from a humanitarian point of view it was not necessary as road corridors to the town were open. [passage omitted]

Road convoys can be stopped "like turning off a tap," according to Tuzla UNHCR chief Robyn Ziebert. "If we could get the necessary convoys through, we wouldn't necessarily need the airport," he said Tuesday.

The 2.5 kilometre (1.5 mile) runway has been under the threat of Serb gunners who are on three sides of the airport.

On February 1 and 2, about 40 shells exploded inside the airport perimeter. On Monday, as the international community began to single out Tuzla for attention, 17 shells landed just outside.

The Swedish peacekeepers, from their observation posts, noted the positions from where the shells were fired but were powerless to riposte.

After months of hesitation, the 1,000 Swedish and Danish UN troops stationed near Tuzla began preparing to reopen the airport some nine weeks ago.

"Everything is ready so that we can land the first aircraft four days after taking control of the area," said Colonel Bengt Berlin of the Tuzla contingent.

UN Tanks Head Towards Tuzla; Relief Convoys Resume

AU2202124694 Paris AFP in English 1220 GMT 22 Feb 94

[Text] Zagreb, Feb 22 (AFP)—Relief convoys to Bosnia resumed on Tuesday after a break of two-and-a-half days, a spokesman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), Ron Redmond (eds: correct) said.

Several convoys left Metkovic in southern Croatia for central Bosnia on Tuesday morning and several more were scheduled to leave on Wednesday, he said.

The UNHCR's air lifts to Sajarevo also resumed on Tuesday, with a total of 27 humanitarian flights scheduled for the day, he added.

The UNHCR suspended relief to Bosnia on Saturday afternoon because of NATO threats to bomb Serb positions unless heavy artillery was withdrawn before the expiry of an ultimatum set for 0000 GMT Monday.

Redmond added that UNHCR staff who left Bosnia for safety reasons after the ultimatum had started going back, with some already back in Sarajevo after flying in early on Tuesday.

At UNHCR headquarters in Geneva, spokeswoman Christiane Berthiaume said the convoys from Metkovic included eight heading for Zenica, with the others travelling to Jablanica, Tuzla, and the Croatian and Moslem sectors of Mostar. Two further convoys were leaving Belgrade for Gorazde and Srebrenica.

Asked about the opening of Tuzla airport, which the Bosnian Serbs have been opposing, Berthiaume said it would be a major step, given the large number of displaced persons in that Moslem-majority part of Bosnia. The head of UN peacekeeping operations Kofi Annan has set March 7 as the date for opening the airport, closed since May 1992.

The spokeswoman noted that last month the UNHCR could deliver only 1,800 tonnes of relief to Tuzla by road, whereas needs were estimated at 7,400 tonnes.

In Sarajevo, UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) military spokesman Bill Aikman of Canada said 10 Danish Leopard tanks had reached the British Army base at Vitez in central Bosnia overnight and were continuing on to Tuzla to rejoin the rest of their battalion, which is to supervise the airport opening.

The tanks are the first heavy armour deployed in Bosnia by UNPROFOR. They were stuck in a Belgrade suburb for four months because of Serb objections, then did a roundabout rail journey through Hungary, Austria and Italy, to be shipped from Trieste to the Croatian port of Split, from where they set out on Monday.

Bosnian Serb Leader Commends UN Forces

LD2202125594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1155 GMT 22 Feb 94

[Text] Jagodina, 22 Feb (TANJUG)—Commenting on the situation around Sarajevo, the chairman of the Srpska republic's assembly, Momcilo Krajisnik, told Radio Jagodina today that the Serb side had asked for impartial mediators from UNPROFOR and got them in the UN's Russian units.

"UNPROFOR is generally implementing the agreement between the Serb and Muslim sides very correctly and with good intentions. The Serb side not only has no complaints, but it also commends the impartial and mediating role of the 'international forces,'" Krajisnik said.

Asked to comment on air strike threats if the Serbs did not allow Tuzla airport to open, Krajisnik said:

"We do not have anything against the opening of Tuzla airport if we get guarantees that it will not be used to arm Muslim forces, thus prolonging the war. However, those who want to open the airport straight away do not have good intentions." We, Krajisnik added, also have no complaints about the demilitarization of the warring sides in Zepa, Srebrenica, and other enclaves because our goal is peace and a demarcation between the Serbs, Muslims, and Croats. However, not a single percent of Serb territory can be threatened by this act. We have opted for a peaceful resolution accompanied by a demarcation between the three states in the territory of former Bosnia-Herzegovina and any attempt to join the three nations is in reality a prolongation of military operations, Krajisnik said.

Vice President Calls UN Ultimatum 'Mistake'

LD2102214794 Paris France-2 Television Network in French 1900 GMT 21 Feb 94

[Excerpts] Sarajevo was blessed with another calm day. [passage omitted] Stephane Manier and Marcel Martin report:

[Begin recording] [Manier] [passage omitted] Whereas the man on the streets keeps turning his bitterness over without really realizing that he can now think about it at his leisure, politicians look at the situation with more distance:

[Ejup Ganic, Bosnian vice president, in English with French voiceover] I, for one, did not think that at 0100 last night, something would necessarily happen. In the case of an ultimatum, you never know when reactions start effectively. However, I am worried when I see that there is still quite a lot of uncontrolled artillery. It is up

to NATO to defend its own credibility. We complied and cooperated. The Serbs did not. I think that we are now pressing for the Serbs to cooperate, but I do believe that the UN made a mistake when it negotiated the ultimatum with the Serbs. [end recording]

Muslim Side Violates Sarajevo Cease-Fire

LD2202121094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1103 GMT 22 Feb 94

[Excerpt] Zvornik, 22 Feb (TANJUG)—The Muslim side again violated the cease-fire last night in the Sarajevo area, TANJUG learned from Serb military sources in the Srpska republic.

According to the same sources, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] members identified the culprits and the location from which they opened fire, and "a resolute effort" was made to stop the shooting from Muslim positions.

According to Serb military sources, members of Muslim units have been using infantry weapons to target Serb areas from several directions. The Muslim side violated the cease-fire in the Lukavica, Lemezovic Kuca, Kosevo, and Grbavica areas of Sarajevo. [passage omitted]

Serb Attack on Bihac Leaves 30 'Chetniks' Dead

LD2102225894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 21 Feb 94

[Text] It was one of the worst days—if one can draw such comparisons at all—in this 16-day offensive by the Serb aggressor on the Bihac region. The howitzers, tanks, [words indistinct] multiple-rocket launchers, antiaircraft machine guns on the nearby hills allow themselves no respite. Throughout the day fierce battles have raged on the Grmusa and Grabez plains. This afternoon the chetniks launched one of their heaviest tank and infantry attacks.

In the course of this hand-to-hand battle lasting several hours fighters of the 5th Corps have managed to repel the chetnik vampires. The Serbs have been reinforced with special units from Banja Luka and Prnjavor, who among their ranks have notorious criminals whose hands are heavily stained with blood. Some 30 of them will never leave the plain while dozens have been taken out of action. A number of our fighters have been wounded in the furious fighting and shelling.

Today's chetnik defeat was yet another reason behind the intensified artillery destruction of Bihac and Cazin and their outlying districts. Also targeted were mosques, particularly in the Cazin municipality. As if this was not enough, the chetniks from the territory of the so-called Republic of Serb Krajina also joined in the action. They, moreover, did so from [word indistinct] in full view of the UN force stationed on the state border of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In the course of the day helicopters, delivering more combat equipment, have also been sighted. This shows that the chetniks are still taking advantage of world opinion being focused on the lifting of siege of Sarajevo as they pursue their goals in other areas. This is why the civilian and military authorities have demanded once again from the government and state presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina that it make further efforts leading to compliance with the UN resolution under which the Bihac region is designated as a protected area. Along the demarcation lines with the so-called autonomous province of Velika Kladusa some provocations and actions by the most extremist groups have taken place during the day.

Government Reviews Situation

AU2102211794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 21 Feb 94

[Report on Senada Cumurovic—recorded]

[Text] [Cumurovic] The situation in Bihac County, which is protected by a UN resolution, was first assessed militarily. Brigadier General Arif Pasalic, assistant to the defense minister for military affairs, elaborated on the situation.

[Pasalic] In the past 15 days, the Serbo-chetnik aggressor, assisted by Fikret Abdic's so-called western Krajina forces, has been conducting an offensive against the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps. The consequences of this aggression are a great number of killed and wounded, most of them civilians, and based on the military situation in the past 24 hours, the Serbo-chetnik aggressor's lines have moved.... [sentence as heard]

[Cumurovic] This offensive perpetrated by the aggressor further complicates the already grave situation in the area under control of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's 5th Corps. So far, 1,500 civilians have been killed, 160 of them children. Interior Minister Bakir Alispahic discussed the letter that Fikret Abdic sent to Milosevic and Tudjman, in which he set a meeting in Velika Kladusa at which issues pertaining to the status of the so-called west Bosnian Krajina would be reviewed.

[Alispahic] We know that Fikret Abdic and his [word indistinct] are in touch with these people. Moreover, they have open support from certain people in these countries [Serbia and Croatia]. We have uncovered open cooperation with the chetnik forces, which, together with the western Bosnia army members, are taking part in the attacks [words indistinct]. This open cooperation and support that has been extended by the two states has (?encouraged) Fikret Abdic to launch an open, terrorist conflict, which has been very damaging for Bihac County.

[Cumurovic] A successful operation of the Bihac (?Security Service) cut short the terrorist activity of Abdic's group.

The humanitarian situation is critical, particularly in the past 10-15 days, since the aid deliveries have been suspended. [Words indistinct] 78 metric tons of food were delivered to Bihac, while Velika Kladusa received 108 tons of food in the same period of time.

Only one state delegation has visited this area to date, stressed Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubijankic, because one of the essential problems is the region's isolation from other parts of the republic. The Bihac region is also isolated in terms of communication, since the only way to communicate is through ham radio operators because reestablishing telephone lines has proved impossible. There is a possibility of having a satellite link in the future, explained Minister for Reconstruction and Development Munevar Imamovic.

At the end of the open part of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government session, at which the situation in the Bihac County was reviewed, a decision was made to call for a UN Security Council session that would review the situation in the area. Second, it was concluded that a corridor had to be opened via Licko Petrovo Selo, which would ensure that aid for Bihac would no longer travel via Velika Kladusa. Moreover, it was decided to ask the UN High Commissioner for Refugees to move its warehouses from Velika Kladusa to Bihac. The proposal to open Bihac airport was also supported, as was the need to enable the return of deputies. [sentence as heard] Finally, it was stressed that the government had so far twice sent humanitarian aid to the legitimate bodies of authority, and that it had enough aid to alleviate the grave situation in the Bihac region.

Serbs Reinforcing Fronts in Bihac, Olovo, Maglaj

AU2202160694

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1400 GMT on 22 February carries in its regular 30-minute newscast several reports on the fighting in the republic. Reception is fair.

Describing the situation in Bihac, Mirza Sadikovic says that "today, on the 17th day of the heaviest offensive by the Serb aggressor, the town is under attack from all sides. Some 5,000 chetniks have been brought from other fronts in Bosnia-Herzegovina to capture this area. They have been bringing in new military equipment by road and by helicopter. The heavy artillery from the surrounding Bihac hills has been systematically destroying Bihac and Cazin. Heavy fighting has again been under way on the Grmusko-Srbljanski Plateau, and the chetnik artillery guns have been pounding the defense lines since this morning."

In his report from Maglaj, Smajl Terzic says that "there is an abundance here of snow and Russian-made shells, though fortunately only one in 10 explodes, fired at the suffering people in Sije, Mrkotic, Kalosevic, Tesanj, Maglaj, and the free Teslic and Doboj territories. During the 37th day of the offensive, the [Serb] aggressor is bringing in new forces, and conducting mobilization of Muslims under the age of 16. They are being forced into the mine fields and if they resist, they are shot on the spot."

Reporting from Gornji Vakuf, Akif Agic says that "Croatian artillery has been pounding the villages near the town. Tanks from (?Kupe) and (?Darovac) have been firing selectively at civilian targets. The center of Gornji Vakuf has also been shelled with howitzers, mortars, and tanks." He says that "the HVO has been destroyed, and now the Croatian Army is assuming the role of the attacker."

An unidentified correspondent reports from Kalesija that "fierce artillery attacks on Donje Vukovije near Tuzla airport have continued today. The [Serb] aggressor's artillery attacks are under way as we report and the citizens of Vukovije are in their cellars, where they have been for days. The enemy is firing from Mt. Majevica with howitzers, and if these intense attacks continue, Vukovije will be razed to the ground."

Mira Salihodzic reports from Olovo that "this afternoon the [Serb] enemy artillery has been targeting civilian areas in the Krivaja River valley in retaliation for the losses that the chetniks suffered in successful commando operations over the last few days." She says that "large convoys of enemy forces from the direction of Han Pijesak and Sokolac have been moving hurriedly. Enemy armored-mechanized and infantry forces have been concentrating around Olovo."

Inter-Muslim Clashes Resume in Cazin Krajina

LD2202155594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1459 GMT 22 Feb 94

[Excerpts] Petrovac, 22 Feb (TANJUG)—Inter-Muslim clashes were resumed today in Cazin Krajina, local Muslim media has reported. [passage omitted]

According to Abdic's and Izetbegovic's media, fierce clashes were resumed today near Liskovac and Trzacka Rastela.

Velkaton [radio] in Velika Kladusa [Abdic's stronghold] claims that members of the Fifth Corps [loyal to Izetbegovic] have suffered considerable losses, that they are retreating, and calling for help via Muslim Radio in Bihac.

Muslim Official Declares War Must Continue

LD2102222294 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2040 GMT 21 Feb 94

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 21 (TANJUG)—Ranking Bosnian Muslim official Arif Pasalic said on Monday that "the Muslim forces must war on for the liberation of entire Bosnia-Herzegovina."

In an interview given to the Zagreb weekly DANAS, Muslim Deputy Foreign Minister Pasalic listed as the Muslim priorities at this time the recapture of the Lasva

River Valley in central Bosnia and the launching of a counter-offensive in the Brcko area in the north and the Mostar area in the southwest.

"It is our strategic objective to liberate central Bosnia (from Croat control). If we accomplish this, we shall improve our chances in the valleys of the Neretva in the southwest and the Bosna in the north, and, eventually, for the liberation of all of Bosnia-Herzegovina," he underscored.

"It does not matter if it takes eight months, or four years, or even 12 years, we must and can war on," said Pasalic.

The statement came at a time when tensions have been eased around Sarajevo with the withdrawal and placing of Bosnian Serb and Muslim artillery under U.N. control, which most politicians and media in the world interpret as a major step forward in bringing the peace to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Bosnian Muslims have invariably been rejecting all peace offers for Bosnia-Herzegovina, in the belief, encouraged by military successes against the Croats in central Bosnia, that they would get more territory at arms than they could at the conference table.

Renewed War Predicted in Event of Ethnic Division

AU2102180094 Vienna KURIER in German 21 Feb 94 p 5

[Interview with General Jovan Divjak, deputy commander of the General Staff of the Supreme Command of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, by Livia Klingl in Sarajevo; date not given: "General Divjak: 'A Division of Bosnia Means War Again'"]

[Text] [Klingl] Is the war over, as Serbian leader Karadzic says?

[Divjak] Karadzic must explain to his people that he now wants peace. He is reacting to pressure from NATO and Boris Yeltsin.

[Klingl] Will NATO intervene if the Serbs neglect NATO demands?

[Divjak] NATO will not bomb the Serbs. We now have a stalemate in the political game. The Serbs are withdrawing a few weapons, others they will shift to other areas of war.

[Klingl] Can a political solution be found through this stalemate?

[Divjak] The Sarajevo solution could be successful one in other parts of Bosnia as well, which would have a positive influence on the negotiations.

[Klingl] Can you accept Russian blue helmets as monitoring the Bosnian weapons?

[Divjak] The Bosnian Army is pleased to be monitored by them. If they are used on the Serbian side, abuse cannot be ruled out.

[Klingl] Would a division of Bosnia into three parts bring about peace?

[Divjak] A division along ethnic lines would mean war again. Our culture, history, and economy are interlaced; 900,000 marriages are mixed marriages.

[Klingl] Would you, a Serb, live in a Muslim state?

[Divjak] I am staying where I am. Here we will not have a Muslim state but a country in which all citizens will have their rights.

[Klingl] You negotiated the cease-fire with the Serbs. What is it like to sit at the same table with the aggressors?

[Divjak] They did not want to negotiate with us because I was there. I told them that this is not a question of wanting but a question of a cease-fire. I am very glad that I am not on the side of those who are committing genocide on the Muslims.

Cantonization Said Accepted in Muslim-Croat Talks

LD1902205794 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 19 Feb 94

[Text] At this evening's continuation of the Frankfurt round of Croatian-Muslim talks, the mutual standpoints are drawing closer together. Both delegations, it has been learned, have accepted the model of the cantonal organization of the future Bosnia-Herzegovina, but some of their standpoints are, nevertheless, different. The Muslim side sees the cantons as the basis for the development of a future state while the Croatian side sees them as only a framework guaranteeing the appropriate participation of both nations in the government. In this connection, stress is laid on the U.S. initiative on the territorial division of Bosnia-Herzegovina into seven cantons.

Of the concrete agreements, stress is placed on the forthcoming meeting between military commanders General Ante Roso and Rasim Delic, which should provide a definite cessation of hostilities between the Croatian Defense Council and the Muslim army, something that will make further negotiations easier. Both delegations agreed with the U.S. approach to the talks—that first there should be an agreement between Croats and Muslims on Bosnia-Herzegovina before an agreed proposal is put to the third side, the Bosnian Serbs.

HVO: Muslims Redeploying Sarajevo Units to Vitez

LD1902174494 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 19 Feb 94

[Correspondent Ivica Saric reporting for Croatian Radio from Vitez]

[Excerpt] According to the HVO's [Croatian Defense Council] operational zone in Vitez [largest Croat enclave in central Bosnia], the town center came under an artillery attack again last night. Two civilians were wounded.

According to the same source, the Muslim Army is deploying fresh units on the northern approaches to Vitez. The command of the Vitez operational zone links this with the lifting of the blockade of Sarajevo and a large influx of infantry belonging to the Muslim Army's First Corps [based in Sarajevo] to Croat areas in central Bosnia. [passage omitted]

Croats Protest Muslim Infantry Movement

LD2102194594 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 21 Feb 94

[Text] Mayors of [the Croat-held towns of] Kresevo, Kiseljak, and Fojnica today sent a [joint] letter to the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] command. In the letter they are asking whether UNPROFOR is going to do anything to prevent Muslim infantry units, currently being moved from Sarajevo, from taking part in the offensive against the Croat areas in central Bosnia.

The Muslim infantry is no longer needed in Sarajevo and they are already moving into central Bosnia, with the aim of occupying Croat areas, the letter says.

Civilian Targets Shelled in Maglaj

AU2102171494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Feb 94

[Report by Hajrudin Sermic from Maglaj]

[Text] Maglaj is today again the target of the aggressor's artillery weapons. The criminals continue to employ their surprise tactic of sudden shelling, usually at times when the population is most relaxed. Their sole objective is to kill as many innocent people as possible. A general alarm signal was sounded at 1300 [1200 GMT] because some 10 120-mm mortar shells were launched at the town center in a relatively short period. The shelling of civilian targets is still in progress. We do not have any information on the killed and wounded, but we do know for certain that there are casualties.

Use of Croatian Air Force in Vitez, Konjic

AU2102100594

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0900 GMT on 21 February reports escalation of combat in the following areas:

A report by the press service of the 3d Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army claims that "Croatian Army aircraft early yesterday morning shelled Vitez [word indistinct]. An aircraft and two helicopters flew from the direction of Gornji Vakuf and fired 12 projectiles [words indistinct]. Afterward, the aircraft in a low-level flight strafed this settlement. This air attack by the aggressor's Croatian Army resulted in enormous material damage." The report here adds an observation that this attack was carried out while "the international organizations and public are preoccupied with the NATO ultimatum" in hope that it will passed "unnoticed."

"In the zone of responsibility of the 4th Corps IKM [expansion unknown] Konjic the forces of the Croatian Army and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] would not cease shelling Muslim villages. On two occasions last night the ustashas shelled (?Scipe) in the free Prozor territory from a multiple rocket launcher. Late last night the Croatian Army air force was active, too, which in the region of Scipe village dropped (?four) [word indistinct] bombs. At the time of sending this dispatch we could not obtain any information about the consequences of the activity of the ustasha air force and artillery," a dispatch by the 4th Corps Information Service reports.

"Again no peace on the free Olovo territory," reports a correspondent whose name is indistinct. "Yesterday passed in attacks of the chetnik artillery on the civilian quarters of the town and settled areas along river Krivaja." She continues to report that "in the course of the night the infantry arms fire along the entire front line of [word indistinct] Olovo defenders has been intensified" and reports that "the morning in the freedom-loving Olovo started with renewed activity of the enemy artillery, which is again pounding the lines of our defense with intensified small arms fire. The lines of defense are stable and under full control of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army fighters."

Tudjman Receives Redman, Praises U.S. Position

LD2102192594 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 21 Feb 94

[Text] In the presidential palace today, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman received Ambassador Charles Redman, the U.S. President's special envoy at the conference on the former Yugoslavia. Redman was accompanied by Ambassador to Croatia Peter Galbraith. The meeting was also attended by Jure Radic, head of the president's office. Ambassador Redman informed the president about positive U.S. attitudes toward the convergence of Croatian and Muslim stands regarding the securing of a cease-fire and the implementation of a final solution in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

He supported Croatia's approach based on a peaceful solution and promised the international community's support in protecting the Croatian areas that are under siege at the moment. He stressed in particular the United States' readiness and resolve to contribute—in parallel with resolving the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis—to the establishment of the full sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia in all areas within its internationally recognized borders, urging the opening of communications, and restoration of economic links.

President Tudjman thanked the ambassador and the U.S. Government for their constructive and active role in resolving the crisis in the area of the former Yugoslavia.

Granic Cited on Talks With Bosnian Muslims

LD2002195494 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1724 GMT 20 Feb 94

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 20 (TANJUG)—The talks between the Bosnian Muslims and Croatia ended in Frankfurt on Saturday without producing any concrete headway in the resolution of disputed issues.

Although Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic and Bosnian Muslim Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic said after the talks that differences between the two sides had been narrowed, according to foreign news agencies, they did concede that the two sides were still far from any significant agreement.

Granic, who is also deputy Croatian prime minister, said the Muslim side was interested in a confederation with Croatia, but the two sides were still not in agreement about the future form of organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Granic said each member of the planned confederation would be a member of the United Nations. Granic said various ideas about the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina into ethnic republics or cantons and a ceasefire in central Bosnia had been discussed.

Granic and Silajdzic said the talks on future Croatian-Muslim relations would be resumed in the Croatian capital of Zagreb next week at the level of experts, after which they said the two of them would most likely meet again.

Granic and Silajdzic first separately met with special United States envoy for Bosnia-Herzegovina, Ambassador Charles Redman. Ambassador Redman said he was trying to have the two sides more decisively approach the resolution of issues of their future coexistence.

Commentary Examines U.S. Plan, Action

AU2202125594 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Feb 94 p 2

[Commentary by Ante Gugo: "Solution Even Without Pale"]

[Text] The Saturday meeting in Frankfurt of Croatian Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Dr. Mate Granic with Haris Silajdzic, prime minister of the government of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Muslims, could, in the future, be interpreted as an event that marked the turning point in the war on the territory of former Yugoslavia. In brief, it is evident from the statements given by Ganic and Silajdzic that, for the time being, the two still-warring sides have drawn closer. Analyzing the factors that lead to such a turnabout, one should, among other things, examine a visit of Clinton's envoy Charles Redman to Zagreb, which lasted several days. If we view Clinton's address to the nation within this context, it becomes clear that the United States has assumed, without the possibility of a deferment, responsibility for bringing this war crisis to an end. One could also examine the influence of Zhirinovskiy and some other factors here, however, for the time being, the relation between the Croats and the Muslims is the most important, as it will ultimately determine the situation that will prevail from the Alps to the Ionian Sea.

None of the statesmen wishes to say a word about Redman's initiative. However, by analyzing the statements of Granic and Silajdzic in Frankfurt, it will not be difficult to grasp the contents of this possible solution. Dr. Granic reiterated Croatia's stand on the need for cooperation with the Muslims and on the possible cooperation of the future states, which has already been contained in President Tudjman's peace initiative. Dr. Silajdzic did not repeat his previous stand. On this occasion he spoke in favor of something entirely new, from which it can be concluded that the alliance of the two peoples in Bosnia-Herzegovina is possible. The Bosnia-Herzegovina prime minister said that there are still differences regarding the nuances of the internal constitution, but that this can be overcome and that the model of relations between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia should be discussed afterward. As opposed to earlier views that nothing can be solved without the Serbs, even though it was Izetbegovic who was saying it most frequently, on this occasion, the Muslim side put forward a proposal that the doors be left open to the

Serbs for this type of regulation of internal relations. Therefore, one can conclude that it will be a Serbian problem whether they accept it or not. The Muslims, so it seems, are willing to enter a joint state without the Serbs.

This was all agreed in the presence of U.S. envoy Redman and the leading people from the European Union. The only question remaining now is what kind of a state will this be without the Serbs who are situated in the west of Bosnia-Herzegovina? Bearing in mind that this is evidently an U.S. initiative, which has also produced threats of air strikes, the possibility that they could carry out this threat should be borne in mind. It means that Clinton's preparation of the nation for military engagement does not mean preparation for the liberation of Sarajevo, but has much wider dimensions. The Serbs will perhaps want to leave Bosnia-Herzegovina, but it might prove awfully expensive for them. On the other hand, if the world returns to the old and realistic geo-strategic divisions, the Croats and the Muslims could prosper well together. The precondition for this is the safeguarding of human rights for both peoples on the principle of reciprocity and with the supervision and guarantees of the international community.

The Russians, as a very interested side, have realized too late what is happening. Sending 400 of their soldiers to Sarajevo will not bring some great change in the present U.S. plans. The leap westward of the traditional geo-strategic positions would be a gain for Yeltsin and the generals who should be placated. However, if nothing, or less than expected, materializes out of this, and if at the same time the failure is paid for in cash for the restoration of the economy, the Russians could be very satisfied. For that reason, the fact that European Union representatives were also present at the talks in Frankfurt beside the United State is also encouraging.

Envoy on Butrus-Ghali Report on Croatia

LD1902010194 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 18 Feb 94

[Telephone interview with Mario Nobilo, Croatian ambassador to the United Nations, by unidentified correspondent in New York on 18 February; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] The UN Security Council this evening is discussing UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali's report on the presence of members of the Croatian Army in Bosnia-Herzegovina. For this reason, we have phoned Mario Nobilo, our ambassador to the United Nations. Good evening, Mr. Nobilo. Please tell us whether the debate in the Security Council is still going on.

[Nobilo] In fact, there will be no debate today after my conversation with the chairman of the Security Council. The debate will probably be put off until next week. There is no urgency in the Security Council's moves, and I managed to explain to the Security Council chairman at today's meeting that Butrus-Ghali's report itself—unfavorable for Croatia at first glance—warns about UNPROFOR's limited resources in verifying the withdrawal, which I had noted in my letter to Butrus-Ghali yesterday.

However, what is important in the earlier Security Council demand is the insistence that progress be made. We are primarily linking the progress to the guarantees we are demanding of the Security Council for the security of the Croat enclaves in central Bosnia. It also depends on the progress achieved in the promising negotiations between the Croat and Muslim sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina. And, of course—there is a new element here—the withdrawal of enormous quantities of heavy weapons and the new military situation around Sarajevo create a new military balance in the region. That could be used against the Croat side; we would like the Security Council to prevent the regrouping of Muslim forces against the Croats. I do not believe that will happen, but the Security Council is aware of the new circumstances.

I believe, therefore, that this whole report is a form of pressure on Croatia—not only on Croatia, but on all sides in former Yugoslavia—to reach a peaceful settlement. This particularly serves the West and the international community in their endeavors to have the remaining disputed issues between the Croat and Muslim sides resolved and to see the defining of the future good and dynamic relations between the two peoples and states—which is why I think this pressure should be viewed in the context of such a process. This is primarily a process.

What is important, however, is that finally we have an active consensus of the great powers on the European level and that people are finally talking in resolute tones. Croatia will certainly—in this sense, as it has hitherto—be the most cooperative party so that there is no direct danger if this process—which began with the president's Bonn initiative—were to continue to develop favorably, despite international factors being as active as they are now.

[Correspondent] In the secretary general's report—at least according to the text that we have received—quite a few things are unclear. Mr. Butrus-Ghali says the blue helmets were not able to supervise the withdrawal throughout the area, but there was a withdrawal. It is stated that not a single command center of the Croatian Army nor activity by any brigade was identified, and it speculates that the formations of the Croatian Army are probably significantly more careful. Dr. Nobilo, what can transpire from such a report for Croatia?

[Nobilo] Nothing directly. But I repeat: It will always be a way of exerting pressure on Croatia if things deteriorate, and things will resolve themselves if things improve so that there are no immediate effects. Butrus-Ghali's report itself distances itself from all this by saying that

they think, and they believe, and they do not have sufficient proof, and they do not have sufficient people and mechanisms to carry out the inspections. This is indicative of the possible relations in this military area, but it is also certainly to be seen in the context of the situation in central Bosnia and the talks on the latest developments around Sarajevo. It should always be seen in a broad context. We should try not to do ourselves harm here, but on the contrary, to benefit from it.

RSK Leader Comments on Sarajevo Situation

AU2102212494 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 21 Feb 94

[Interview with Milan Martic, president of the republic of Serbian Krajina, by Petko Koprivica on 21 February; place not given—recorded]

[Koprivica] Mr. President, what was the reaction in the republic of Serbian Krajina to the decision that NATO forces have, for the time being, given up the announced air strikes on the positions of the Srpska republic army around Sarajevo?

[Martic] I would say that a great political wisdom was shown here, particularly by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and certainly by Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the Srpska republic. In a very positive way, NATO forces found themselves in a situation in which the unpopular idea of bombing was simply avoided.

I also have to say that all of us here were somewhat positively surprised by Russia's diplomacy, but when one observes the entire picture, we must say that this was the last bandwagon Russia jumped on; it came to grips with other diplomatic circles in the world.

Akashi Discusses Talks, Issues With Officers

LD2102210694 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 21 Feb 94

[Quotation marks denote recorded passages]

[Text] A regular weekly meeting between Yasushi Akashi and [head of the Croatian Office for State Security] Hrvoje Sarinic was held today at the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] headquarters in Zagreb. The meeting was also attended by General Milivoj Petkovic and General Ante Roso. In addition to the usual topics, their meeting today was an introduction to an event that is to take place tomorrow: A cease-fire agreement which is to be signed by General Ante Roso and General Rasim Delic.

[Petkovic] I hope Delic will come to Zagreb tomorrow so that we can sign an agreement which, unlike those that I have signed so far and that have not produced any results, will finally be an agreement which will yield not only short-term but also long-term results. The most important objective is that combat actions between the Croatian Defense Council formations and the Muslim forces cease.

[Reporter] Tomorrow is a decisive day, as you say. Will it be successful and are you expecting real results?

[Roso] Many things are changing with the spring. I would not like to add anything to what General Petkovic said, I think it is sufficient. Hopefully, this agreement will be final and in this way the Croatian Defense Council will contribute to the restoration of peace in the Balkans.

[Reporter] The agreement will be signed on neutral ground.

[Akashi, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] Today we had a very fruitful meeting. The result is a possibility to sign an agreement on the cessation of hostilities between General Roso and General Delic. This will be an historic moment—the return of peace to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Reporter] Another topic discussed at the meeting, of no less importance, is also in connection with Bosnia-Herzegovina and the alleged presence of the Croatian Army there. Generals Roso and Petkovic put forward a proposal to UNPROFOR to carry out a thorough inspection of all formations and positions so that allegations on the presence of regular Croatian Army formations can be refuted. The important thing is that the allegation on the presence of Croatian Army in Bosnia-Herzegovina has by this been relatively neutralized.

[Sarinic] It has absolutely been neutralized, and no way is that the case [changes thought], we will wait for about a week until they have collated all the details and verified them, and only then should the UN Security Council get reliable reports; it should not make any decisions on the basis of some gossip. Their conclusions can be, as I have already said, very serious and fatal for Croatia.

[Reporter] In the next seven days UNPROFOR commissions are to examine the situation and send a report to Yasushi Akashi.

HVO-Bosnian Talks Postponed

LD2202131194 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 22 Feb 94

[Text] According to the Public Relations Office of the UNPROFOR Command in Zagreb, today's scheduled meeting between the Croat Defense Council [HVO] Commander, General Ante Roso, and the commander of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, General Rasim Delic will not take place. A spokesman for UNPROFOR could not reveal the reasons behind the postponement of their meeting.

Croatian sources assume that Gen Delic has encountered some difficulties while on his way to Zagreb. The talks between generals Delic and Roso were arranged during a recent round of the Geneva negotiations between Croat

Minister for Foreign Affairs Mate Granic and Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime minister Haris Silajdzic. They reconfirmed this arrangement when they met in Frankfurt last Saturday.

Yesterday, following their meeting with UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali's special envoy Yasushi Akashi at the UNPROFOR Headquarters in Zagreb, HVO generals Ante Roso and Milivoj Petkovic said that they would hold talks today with Rasim Delic and that they hoped they would sign an agreement on the cessation of hostilities.

Speaking about the possibilities of signing an agreement on the cessation of hostilites, Akashi yesterday said that this would be an historic moment in the return of peace to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Croatian Serbs Said To Control Sava River Bridge

LD2202143194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1348 GMT 22 Feb 94

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 22 Feb (TANJUG)—Radomet Kuzet, the republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] justice minister, and Krste Zarkovic, the deputy internal affairs minister of the Srpska republic, inspected the bridge on the Sava River between Bosanska Gradiska and Stara Gradiska.

According to the RSK news agency, ISKRA, they determined that the situation on the bridge has returned to normal and that the RSK internal affairs ministry was in control of the border between Bosnian and Croatian Serbs. [passage omitted]

RSK President Appoints New Army Chief

LD2202160594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1527 GMT 22 Feb 94

[Text] Knin, 22 Feb (TANJUG)—Milan Martic, the president of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], has—on the basis of his constitutional and legal powers—relieved Major General Mile Novakovic, the hitherto chief of general staff of the RSK army, of his duty, ISKRA [Krajina news agency] has learned from the office of the president of the republic.

Major General Milan Celeketic has been appointed new chief of the general staff of the RSK army.

Celeketic was born in 1946 in Mokrin, the municipality of Kikinda, [Vojvodina, Serbia]. He graduated from the military academy and other military schools.

He has held a number of responsible posts in the RSK army since the very beginning of the Croatian-Krajina conflict when he unreservedly sided with the Serbian people.

He has participated in all the major combat operations in western Slavonia and Posavina.

In the course of fighting for the corridor [northern Bosnia] he contributed a great deal to the battles for the liberation of Derventa and Bosanski Brod.

Prior to his appointment General Celeketic was in command of the famed RSK army 18th corps. The RSK army commander has been decorated with high military awards for his work.

Serb Party Head Threatens Safety of U.S. Troops

AU2202131894 Skopje MIC in English 21 Feb 94

[Unattributed report: "Serbs in Macedonia Making Threats: Americans Unsafe in Macedonia"]

[Text] "The eventual bombardment of the Serbs in Bosnia means a bombardment of all Serbs, and with that, the safety of the U.S. soldiers in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] is brought into question," the president of the Democratic Party of the Serbs in Macedonia Dragisa Miletic, threatened yesterday.

At the press conference, Miletic accused the Macedonian authorities of lying to the Serbs and Montenegrins in Macedonia, for the past three years, that they will be "returned" in the Constitution. The party's vice president Stojan Trajkovic announced that the Serbs will boycott the forthcoming census in Macedonia, unless two census lists and the participation of representatives of the Serbian people, in the census commissions, is provided.

Foreign Minister Comments on Visit to Albania

LD1802221694 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2100 GMT 18 Feb 94

[Text] [Announcer] Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] Foreign Relations Minister Branko Crvenkovski returned to Skopje today from a two-day official visit to the Republic of Albania. Albania's support for Macedonia's integrity and stability, and its offer to help our country in matters of transport and communications, and in alleviating the effects of the Greek blockade were the most important results of the visit to Tirana.

[Begin Crvenkovski recording] The Albanian side reiterated its support for the independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Macedonia. We expressed our readiness for developing cooperation and for pursuing a policy of peace, good-neighborly relations, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. We also discussed economic ties, especially projects related to the East-West corridor. The Albanian side has already condemned Greece's unilateral attack against the Republic of Macedonia and they offered us, within their means, the use of their transportation system and port facilities for the transport of Macedonia's goods. [end recording]

Neighbors Agree To Help Break Blockade

AU1802194094 Paris AFP in English 1934 GMT 18 Feb 94

[Excerpts] Sofia, Dec 18 (AFP)—Countries bordering Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] agreed on Friday [18 February] to set up a supply corridor to the country, to help break a controversial trade embargo imposed by Greece.

Transport officials from Turkey, Bulgaria, Albania and Italy and Macedonia told journalists they had agreed on a road and rail link to the former Yugoslav republic, which would be coordinated in the Bulgarian capital.

The creation of such a corridor was an "urgent necessity" after Greece's decision Wednesday to bar Macedonia access to the Greek port of Salonika, halting its oil imports, the country's deputy Transport Minister Yorgo Sundovski said at a press conference. [passage omitted]

Greece's EC partners sharply criticised the trade embargo on Friday. [passage omitted]

Greece Closes Border; Consul Leaves Skopje

LD2002162994 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 20 Feb 94

[Text] The Greek Consul to Macedonia [Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] Elias Eliadis today officially left Macedonia. The complete furnishings from the Skopje-based consulate were also moved to Greece.

Border crossings on the Greek-Macedonian border will be closed until further notice, not only for Macedonian citizens and vehicles, but also for citizens from European countries, with the exception of the citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. As Macedonian radio has reported, long lines of heavy vehicles from Italy, the Netherlands, Denmark, Germany, Macedonia, and other countries are piling up on both sides of the border. Rail traffic was also interrupted in recent days.

Reported Losses Resulting From Greek Blockade

AU2202132694 Skopje MIC in English 21 Feb 94

[Unattributed report: "What Is Grounded at Salonika Port?"]

[Text] According to initial insights, the biggest losses from the Greek blockade will be suffered by the energetic [as received], the ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy.

The review drawn up by the Chamber of Commerce shows that 60-80 percent of the products of "Jugohrom," "Zletovo," FENI and the Skopje steelworks, intended for export, transit through Greece, that is the Salonika port, and out of the total raw materials and repromaterials, 50-60 percent are imported through Greece.

Some 52,000 tonnes of crude oil are currently at the crude oil installations of "Mamidakis" and "Jet Oil" in Salonika, while 116 cisterns are loaded at the station in Salonika and Idomeni.

A ship carrying 18,000 of phosphate for the smeltery in Veles was caught in the process of unloading, and only 28 wagons have been dispatched, so far.

800 tonnes of ferro-alloys are ready to be loaded, a wooden construction of 500 cubic meters has been

stocked, and there are also some 400 tonnes of sheet metal awaiting delivery, at the same port.

As it was said yesterday, at the meeting of the Chamber of Commerce, this points to an alarming condition and the need to find alternative solutions. Certain businessmen said that the government is giving out hopes of false optimism, and that something much greater is behind this Greek move, and that a strategy of reciprocity should be worked out. The idea to look for a corridor for transit of the goods, through FR Yugoslavia, was also raised.

FRY 'Silently' Supporting Greek Measures

AU2202112494 Skopje MIC in English 21 Feb 94

[Unattributed report: "FRY Discreetly Supports Greek Blockade"]

[Text] The economic sanctions of Greece against Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] still remains without any public reactions from official Belgrade. The exception is only the party SK-DJ [Communist League Movement for Yugoslavia], which condemned this uncivilized Greek act, and emphasized that the consequences would mostly be felt by the innocent citizens.

However, the most obvious demonstration of the policy of double standards is best represented by the attitude of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], which, at a state level, came out against the UN intention to impose sanctions against Croatia, while it silently supported an illegal and damaging Greek measure, otherwise, immediately condemned throughout the world.

Gligorov 'Ready To Debate' Name, Flag

AU2202091294 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 20 Feb 94 p 11

[Speech by FYROM President Kiro Gligorov reprinted from STUDENTSKI ZBOR; place and date not given: "No Solution Without the Word 'Macedonia'"]

[Text] The negotiations can be resumed in a wider framework that can lead to an agreement encompassing all the questions, not only those we are now concentrated on—the name, the flag, and so on—which are charged with negative emotions in advance. In that agreement, we must take reality into account, which means we must reach a lasting solution for all problems connected to our economic, political, cultural, and other links. We must not concentrate only on those matters that are now seen as problems, and thus exclude far more essential questions. That is why we followed an example that seems the most acceptable in this situation; the agreement between Poland and Germany, solving all the questions between these two countries that have had great disputes throughout history. All of a sudden, different relations were created between these two countries, which is a good example of how Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] and Greece should solve the outstanding questions. Regarding the name, the Republic of Macedonia is the most suitable solution and is not only in our interests, but also in the interests of Greece. Here are the reasons for that: If our neighbor cools its emotions and starts thinking more realistically, it will see that all the other solutions proposed so far were deemed unsuitable by the negotiators, and therefore they were not accepted. The name "Northern Macedonia" was launched. Later, they said it was not adequate because it implied other situations leading to a desire for unification. "Vardar Macedonia" was the hit name for some time. Nevertheless, they dropped it because the Vardar River flows through Salonika. The name "Slav Macedonia" was very attractive to the Greek side. However, we were categorically against it because we have to take into account all the citizens of this country. The citizens must feel the country is their own. That is one aspect we have not discussed very much—stability and a better future for this republic. After a number of proposals, I think our arguments are now being taken into consideration, and they are of a very simple nature. After it became clear in Edinburgh that there can be no solution without the word Macedonia, and yet a suffix is needed, the best suffix to our name is Republic, because Republic Macedonia is a legal and state entity and, as such, has its constitution and borders defined precisely by the constitution, which makes a clear distinction between the geographic name Macedonia and Republic Macedonia as a state. Any other solution will imply certain suspicions. The question of the flag and some other questions are matters that we are ready to debate. It is impossible to look for an outcome of this situation without open dialogue, which must normally be based on the force of argument. There will be no outcome if one side or the other imposes selective solutions. That is why we see the solution in a broader discussion that will provide prosperity to our relations. After all the events that have taken place in the north, it is now the moment to look at these matters with open eyes, with a defined vision in looking for a solution to the problems, without entrenching ourselves in our Balkan positions, which could make the lives of this and future generations uncertain.

Crvenkovski Said Prepared for Compromise

AU2202071794 Paris AFP in English 2206 GMT 21 Feb 94

[Excerpts] The Hague, Feb 21 (AFP)—Macedonia is prepared to seek a compromise over the use of its name with Greece, despite the trade blockade imposed by Athens last week, Skopje's foreign minister said here Monday.

Stevo Crvenkovski said following a meeting with his Dutch counterpart Pieter Kooijmans that his country was prepared to resume talks with Greece over the issue, Kooijmans's spokesman Bob Hiensch told AFP.

The dispute between Skopje and Athens over the use of the name Macedonia, which Greece claims belongs exclusively its own northern province of that name, came to a head last week, when Greece imposed and then stiffened a trade blockade against its neighbour.

Greece has also demanded that Macedonia, a former Yugoslav republic which gained independence in 1991 and which has since been recognised by most other European Community countries and the United States, stops "hostile propaganda" against Athens. [passage omitted]

Crvenkovski, who ends a two-day official visit to the Netherlands on Tuesday, said the Greek sanctions were bitterly resented in Macedonia and that Greece had now closed its borders to all traffic barring trains.

Commentary Calls Greek Sanctions Irrational

AU1802162094 Skopje PULS in Macedonian 18 Feb 94 p 6

[Article by Mirka Velinovska: "A Balkan Step Backwards"]

[Text] As far as we know, the first reactions of politicians from the European Union and the United States to the Greek decision on introducing sanctions against our country were that the politicians were totally caught off guard and surprised. This indicated that all the European and world politicians actively engaged in Balkan matters in the past two to three years had not acquired greater knowledge in the "matters." They had not dug deeply in decoding the specific Balkan mental code.

To be honest, we have not done better ourselves, which proves that we are another world among the Balkan peoples: a civilized people, a normal state, a decent society. That is probably why this decision caught us by surprise, although we survive in the middle of all possible Balkan obstructions, nationalisms, chauvinisms, political narrowness, and nonsense. Logic made us think that Greece could not decide to take the irrational action of closing down its consulate or the Thessaloniki port. We had in mind a European Greece. We missed the possibility that the European Union, of which our southern neighbor is a part, does not itself guarantee that all its members have achieved European habits. Absolutely the contrary. The latest actions, first of all the Thessaloniki meetings headed by the Greek priests, then the changes in the U.S. names of streets and public buildings in Drama—as an expression of Greece's dissatisfaction with U.S. policy toward Macedonia—and the decision of the Greek government of Papandreou, show that it is a typical Balkan state.

It was only a couple of weeks ago that we took into consideration the Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] position in the dispute with Greece in case that country, that is its political leadership, would change its policy of imposing conditions, blackmail, and denial.

Papandreou presented the resolution of his government as a "message" to Macedonia, but also to "others", even to all those "who participate in the formation of the stance of the international community." The Greek prime minister thinks that the recognition of our state by a greater part of European countries and the United States was misunderstood in Macedonia, which "got false impressions that it could ignore the Greek positions, and thus create problems for stability in the region at large." According to his evaluation our country "has not taken a single moderate or cautious step" since the breakup of Yugoslavia until today, while "the basic determination of Greece is peace, stability, and security in the region at large."

As a matter of fact, we should look for the background and the essence of the Greek action exactly in this formulation. First of all, Papandreou expressed the Greek insult because of the behavior of Greece's partners and allies in reference to its proposals, initiatives, and stances for the solution of the Bosnian conflict. They have been mainly ignored, and the chairmanship of the European Union, while it is being held by Greece, has been reduced to a permanent supervision over the Balkan "juvenile." Papandreou has been insulted by the behavior of the NATO allies who did not take into account the Greek objections to applying force for solving the Bosnian conflict.

And now the right time for Greece has come: By turning attention to the south, amidst the general mess, it is trying to prove that Macedonia is a potential factor of crisis in the Balkans, a destabilizing bullet. It is exactly here that Greece wants to achieve a possible national score, at least as long as it chairs the European Union. Thus it hopes to annul the efforts of the world for a preventive stabilization of the furthest south of the Balkans by recognizing Macedonia and allotting it (at least in perspective) economic assistance.

In making a decision on this action, the Papandreou government has, as a matter of fact, helped its friend Milosevic in relieving him of some of the enormous pressures he has been exposed to. It is not the first time in the past two years that the Greek penalties for Macedonia have been synchronized with official Belgrade, with the agreement of the interests of our two neighbors. The last one was very much welcomed in Serbia. It was commented as a "Greek reply to the behavior of the White House which is attaching a growing importance to Skopje by installing itself in the Balkans, at the expense of Greece."

If we judge by commentaries in the Greek media, or at least by the way they had been interpreted by their colleagues in Belgrade, it seems that Greece is concerned because the importance of its position in Europe, that is in the region, has been diminished. Instead of starting a new policy, as suggested by some of its domestic political elements, for taking the place that belongs to it—something which Papandreou insists on very much—by creating problems for the international community

Greece becomes even more distant and places itself on the margins. However, the worst of all is that the first reactions of the EU partners bring the latest decision of the Papandreou government related to Macedonia in close connection with the NATO ultimatum, that is its resoluteness finally to become active in Bosnia, as well as with the visit of Papulias to Belgrade.

As far as our country is concerned, the Greek decision on closing the borders has certainly been received with surprise and concern, while Athens rejoiced (a typical Balkan characteristic). The concern comes from the fact that with the closure of Thessaloniki's port our economy will suffer additional damage. Due to the respect for the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro, a large part of our economy was reoriented to this port, and now hard times are ahead for us. And this time, not only due to the lack of gasoline.

However, did Macedonia have an easy time at all during the past three years? It constructed its vitality on the basis of difficulties, and I don't see any reason why it should not be that way this time, too. As a matter of fact, one must take into account that the material damages experienced by Macedonia due to such a Greek decision will not be greater than the political ones that Greece will be faced with.

The greatest achievement of Macedonia's official attitude so far has been not to succumb to emotions. For instance, to think of some kinds of reciprocal measures or anything similar, which would put us in an equal situation with Greece.

We now have a wonderful opportunity to promote our reputation as a European state and people that we mustn't gamble away. It means we mustn't allow any Balkan-style reaction. We must endure the blow and follow up Greece's behavior in the aspect of length of time of the "sanctions" that were simply introduced by the Papandreou government. We must be ready to experience a probable obstruction in Macedonia's admission to the CSCE in March, because Greece has already made such announcements, in order to see how Greece is going to resist the pressures from its partners and allies if it decides to take such an action.

Anyhow, if Athens "is not clear to its European and U.S. friends" with its latest action, if its decision is evaluated as a "serious incident," it will be a clear sign that it has taken a key step backward, into the world of Balkan emotions and irrationalities which can lead to a lot of things—to its damage, in the first place.

Let us recall where Greece was and what it was two years ago compared to Macedonia, which was considered to be a Balkan country, unidentified, full of conflicts, and far away from Europe. Where is it leading to now?

Federal

Jovanovic Credits Serbs for Bosnian 'Solution'

AU2102193094 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1601 GMT 21 Feb 94

[Interview with Foreign Affairs Minister Vladislav Jovanovic by Dragan Colovic on the "An Argument More" program; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Colovic] Good day, Mr. Jovanovic.

[Jovanovic] Good day.

[Colovic] The news that there is no need for a military intervention by NATO in Sarajevo has been received and met with great relief, both in the country and in the world. In your opinion, who and what should be given credit for such a positive denouement?

[Jovanovic] One should, above all, give credit to the consistent and courageous peace-loving policy that the Serbs in Bosnia and we in Yugoslavia have persistently been conducting in order to overcome and solve the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This peace-loving policy could not but meet with a reaction among those people who are also interested in a peaceful solution: First, Russia, but also other countries—Greece and others—who all had uneasy feelings about the possibility that NATO's reckless policy in this crisis could upset the balance and all the conditions for creating regional stability. This is why the agreement on a cease- fire has been accompanied by the agreement on the demilitarization of Sarajevo, which had been reached before issuing this hapless ultimatum that really appeared to be a shot in the dark. It was simply, as Mr. Karadzic put it, like walking through an open door [as heard]. This leads us to conclude that NATO also had other goals that it hoped to achieve with this ultimatum rather than influencing the solving of the crisis. It also had internal needs to reaffirm itself under the conditions of having lost its enemy and through aggravating the crisis in Bosnia, to strengthen its internal ranks, which were seriously threatened by the lack of outside danger. Therefore, the fact that peace was again maintained due to the presence of mind and principled stand of the Bosnian Serbs and us, as well as other peace-loving forces in the international community, is now a common good that....

[Colovic, interrupting] should be preserved.

[Jovanovic] That should be preserved and strengthened so that strikes against the peace process will not be able to be (?repeated), such as the most recent one that could have permanently halted the peace process if one had failed to take care of it.

[Colovic] Mr. Jovanovic, what will it depend on that this positive moment could be taken advantage of for new and even more decisive steps toward peace, not only in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina but also in the broader territories of the former Yugoslavia?

[Jovanovic] This reasonableness, responsibility, and experience in approaching a tense and critical situation should certainly be preserved and increased. However, one should immediately be warned that dangers to the present peace still exist. They may, above all, come from the Muslim side, which is inclined to carry out all sorts of diversions—both staged and not—against peace. One should also be wary of the leading Western factors that are continuing, and even intensifying, the unbalanced approach to solving the Bosnian crisis. These are two negative aspects that are still present, despite the regressing of the present crisis, and that could greatly damage the peace process if they acted freely. Moreover, it is very important that this peace process be continued and that this positive example of Sarajevo be used to reduce tension and demilitarization in other regions in which battles are still being waged or which could be dangerous for the peace process. When all this is accomplished, then this just and permanent peace that has long been talked about would really be at an arm's length. Let me warn you, however, that the advocators of ultimatums, of a forced and unjust solution, are still thinking about imposing this solution by using political and other forces.

[Colovic] Yes. Mr. Jovanovic, while you are on this topic, what else is equally important to strengthen this positive trend? I am mainly referring to what you have just mentioned—that there are still people who would like to throw a monkey wrench into the wheels of this peace process, which has obviously been strengthened.

[Jovanovic] The forces that are in favor of this process, of reaching a balanced and just political solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, should become even more active and should be the very side to impose the tone for further negotiations. It should not be those forces who want to use the peace process to sabotage it and persuade the world that the war option is the only one for solving the crisis.

On the other hand, it is necessary to intensify our contacts with old and new neighbors who are also increasingly more interested in reaching this just and lasting peace. In this sense, we have permanent contacts with all our (?permanent) earlier neighbors, except for Albania, although we are open for contacts with this country as well. An envoy is visiting Turkey today and will hold political consultations with the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. We also hope to have more dynamic contacts with other neighboring countries [as heard].

Finally, in this context are also efforts to normalize our relations with Croatia in a way that would equally respect the legitimate rights and interest of the Serbian people in Krajina.

[Colovic] Mr. Jovanovic, I thank you very much on behalf of the listeners of the "An Argument More" program.

[Jovanovic] Not at all.

Prime Minister Views Talks With Butrus-Ghali

AU1902165594 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 19 Feb 94

[Telephone statement by Prime Minister Radoje Kontic in New York; date not given—recorded]

[Text] Yesterday started with a meeting with Cardinal O'Connor on sanctions and the humanitarian needs of Yugoslavia. I would say that the cardinal had carried out a very impressive analysis of the global character of the sanctions and their counterproductiveness. We agreed that the sanctions were in fact the inability of the international community to find a political solution for certain conflicts, and that sanctions were hitting the weakest and the most innocent and were, therefore, untenable.

The main event of yesterday was the meeting with UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali. These talks concerned the Yugoslav crisis and its solution, particularly in view of the latest NATO ultimatum concerning the air strikes against the positions of the Bosnian Serbs. We agreed that the only just and justifiable solution is a political one, a political agreement that could be reached among the three warring sides without much interference from outside, an agreement that would take into account their legitimate interests. We also agreed that the agreement on the deployment of a UN peacekeeping battalion between the warring sides—after the withdrawal of the Serb artillery—is a sufficient guarantee for a peaceful outcome to the crisis around Sarajevo—that is, the demilitarization of Sarajevo—and that this in effect removed all reasons for a possible air raid by NATO against the Serb positions.

I would say that the secretary general had a positive attitude toward out request for the lifting of the sanctions, but he stressed that this depends not only on him and his views but primarily on the Security Council members—that is, some of its members, who are still not ready to do so. We said he preferred a gradual lifting of the sanctions, just as they were imposed. At our request for the reintegration of Yugoslavia into the United Nations, I think he reacted positively, but he also stressed that this also depended on the General Assembly. He suggested that we start preparing the ground for our return to the United Nations.

I personally think that he was slightly surprised by the hard attitude, which I presented to him, that the Commission for Sanctions was taking when it came to giving permission connected to humanitarian aid, the humanitarian needs of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]. Of course, this relates primarily to energy suppliers and raw materials for medicine. He promised that he would intervene with the Commission for Sanctions so as to make it have a more benevolent attitude, and he personally asked to be informed about my talks with the chairman of the Commission for Sanctions.

Serbia

Milosevic Nominates Prime Minister-Designate

LD2202161094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1546 GMT 22 Feb 94

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Feb (TANJUG)—Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia, today sent a letter to the president of the Serbian Assembly, nominating Mirko Marjanovic as the republic's prime minister-designate.

Marjanovic has long been director general of the Belgrade-based company "Progres."

Commentary Lauds Triumph of Russian Diplomacy

AU1902202294 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 19 Feb 94

[Commentary by Stefan Grubac]

[Text] The Russian initiative has worked and there will be no bombing of Serb positions. The news on the first channel of the French television that the Muslims committed the crime at the Sarajevo market sounds cynical. It arrived, as always, after everything [sentence as heard]. Russia has finally stepped on the international political scene and—through offensive diplomacy at a very delicate moment—stopped the militant West. The Russian initiative, whose author is President Yeltsin with his closest associates, would not have worked, of course, had it not been met with full cooperation by the Serb side. The triumph of Russian policy over the Western arms should not only be temporary. As a serious country with serious policies, Russia has now imposed on itself certain obligations. Does that mean there will be a new balance of power? Is this the beginning of a new era in international relations with the new—that is, old—Russian factor?

According to CNN, 80 percent of the Russians in a poll opposed the bombing of Serb positions. Again, according to CNN, 60 percent of the Russians believe that an attack on the Serbs is an attack on Russia. The Russian Church also opposes air strikes against Serb positions. Patriarch (Aleksey) II said that even the thought of air strikes must be rejected. Of course, the Russian initiative contains the views of Serbia's policy, since—as we could see—Vitaliy Churkin, as Boris Yeltsin's special envoy, spent most of his time in talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. So Serbia and the Serb republic, or rather the Serb side, has been providing evidence of the continuity of their peace-loving policy.

We will soon see whether the United States will use its influence on the Muslim side, not only at this time but also in the future. Izetbegovic promised that the Muslim artillery would also be moved and silenced. This is a promise that will mean nothing unless there is clear

insistence on that by the international community, particularly the United States, as pointed out two days ago by Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev. The Russian minister stressed the obligations facing the Muslim side. Russia has done its bit, now it is the turn of the United States. The new peace negotiations will begin, no doubt, with new territorial demands by the Muslim side. All this has been staged for that reason, to strengthen the negotiating position of the Muslims—from the event on the Sarajevo market to the threat of air strikes.

The threat of sanctions against Croatia, of course, remain in the media shadow of these events. Croatia was told to withdraw its army from Bosnia by 17 February, as Butrus-Ghali reminded. However, it is hard to believe that Germany and its bloc, which is still very powerful, will allow sanctions to be introduced against Croatia. That would be yet another example of inconsistency and double standards of the international community toward the protagonists in the crisis in the former Yugoslavia.

Those who wanted to could have seen once again that had it been up to the Serb side, the war would have stopped a long time ago.

Kosovo

Rugova Seeking 'Preventive Action'

AU1802210094 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 18 Feb 94

[Text] [Announcer] Europe and the United States have respectively the same views regarding the solution of the Kosova issue, though the United States is more committed to a preventive action in Kosova. That was what President of the Republic of Kosova Dr. Ibrahim Rugova precisely declared to reporters at his news conference held today. For further details, let us follow a report from Prishtina by reporter Mehmet Haziri:

[Haziri] President Rugova highly assessed his meeting with U.S. President Bill Clinton and other U.S. high-level officials. Rugova said that President Clinton expressed his deep concern over the situation in Kosova and gave his support to a political and peaceful solution to this problem.

President Rugova considered his visit to the United States important also for the fact that all his interlocutors in the U.S. Department of State and the U.S. Congress highly assessed the peaceful policy followed by the parties and the Albanian people in Kosova to achieve independence.

Confronted with a reality of violence and apartheid in Kosova, which has recently intensified with raids and massive arrests of Albanians, draconian punishments in trials, and threats to destroy the Academy of Sciences and Arts of the Republic of Kosova as the only scientific institution that had so far worked in its own halls, President Rugova asked the international community to undertake a preventive action to stop the Serbian violence that has swept all segments of life in Kosova.

Despite the NATO ultimatum to interrupt the destructive operations of the parties in Bosnia, the international community does not dare to divert its attention away from Kosova, Rugova pointed out. He considered the trials held in Kosova as trumped-up political charges, now obsolete even in the former communist countries, which aim to discredit the peaceful policy followed by the political leadership and the Albanian people of Kosova.

Asked by Serbian reporters how he assesses the newest Russian initiative to unblock Sarajevo, Rugova answered that the Russian initiative is good as long as this will be supported by the Serbian party.

Asked to comment on several articles in the Serbian press on the alleged cracks in inter-Albanian relations, based on the results of the last congress of the Party of Democratic Prosperity, President Rugova was categorical that no discrepancies exist between Tirana and Prishtina and him and Chairman Berisha. We hope that even the problems within the Party of Democratic Prosperity will be expeditiously overcome through a pure cooperation and reciprocal tolerance.

President Rugova also answered other questions by reporters.